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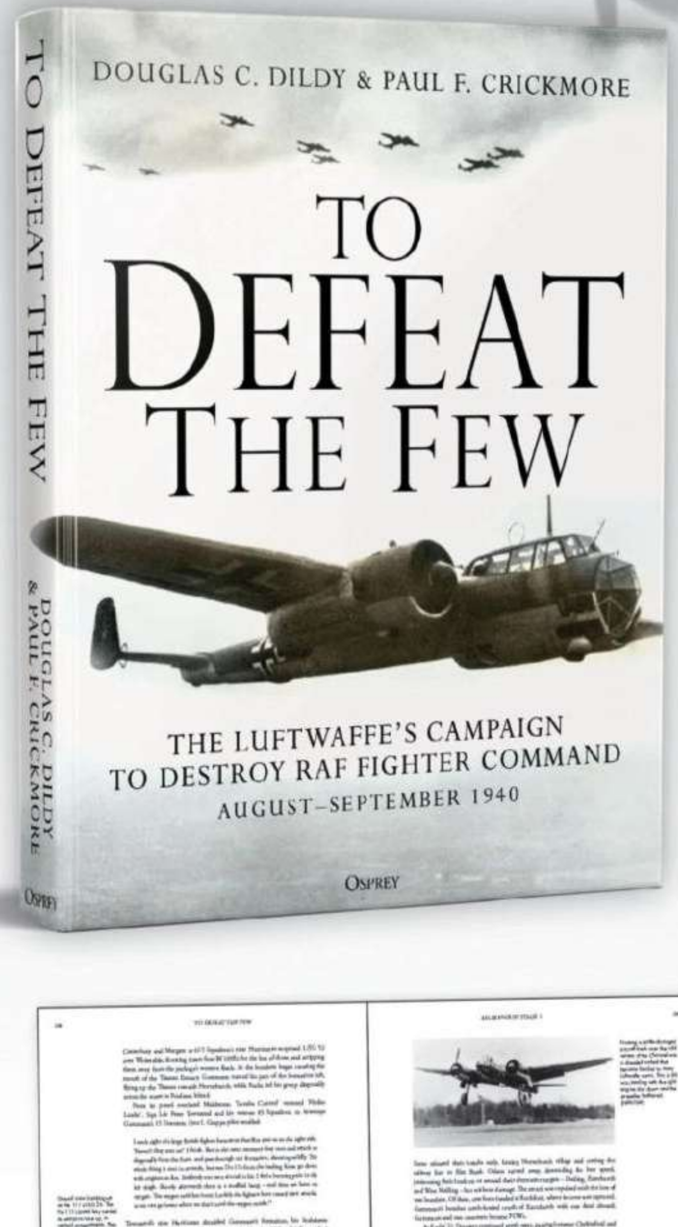
FUTURE
ISSUE 093

TO DEFEAT THE FEW

THE LUFTWAFFE'S CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY RAF FIGHTER COMMAND

AUGUST–SEPTEMBER 1940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TO DEFEAT THE FEW
THE LUFTWAFFE'S CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY RAF FIGHTER COMMAND
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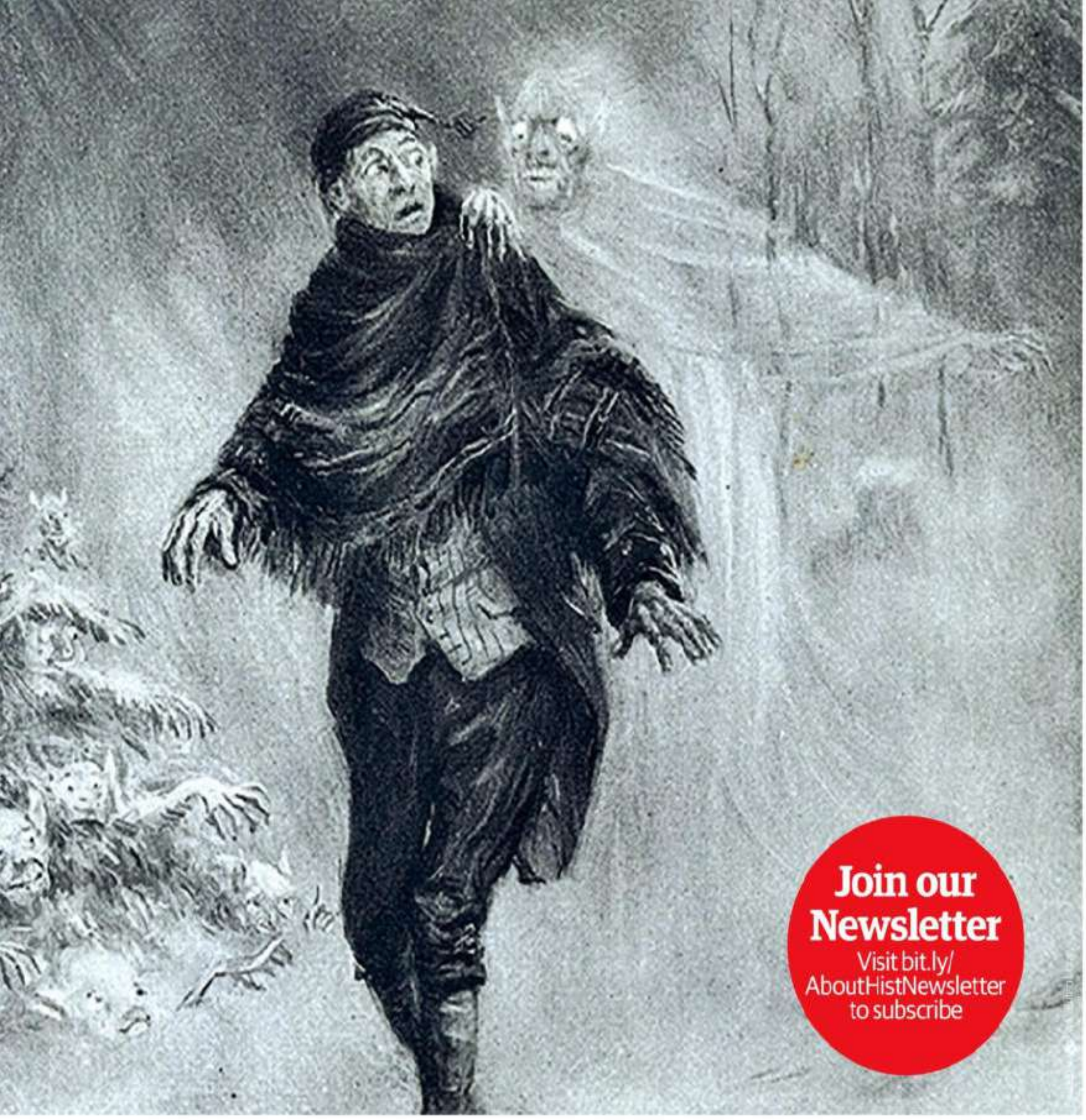

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The origins of much gothic horror can be traced back to the Victorian era, like this illustration from an edition of *The Legend Of Sleepy Hollow*

Welcome

I don't know about you, but I've found myself thinking a lot about how we're living right now in a moment that will be heavily studied, considered and examined by future generations. Between the global pandemic, the varied response to it around the world, the protest movements that have emerged in the middle of it, the continuing political changes and challenges, 2020 will be a long chapter at the very least.

And so I've been thinking a lot about whether history will judge us kindly or not. In these pages we haven't shied away from passing judgement on historical figures. We don't always give them the benefit of the doubt or judge them by their contemporary standards. We try to call it as we see it and I wouldn't expect anything less from future historians. It's a reminder to always try to do what you can, make choices empathetically and live up to the best version of yourself.

All of which has little to do with this month's issue, unless I contort myself into making some analogy about being haunted by ghosts of Christmas future or something. We're taking a dive into the macabre this issue, but in a hopefully fun way as we explore Victorian spiritualism. The occult craze that swept the Western world was a peculiar one that brings up a lot of intriguing stories and odd tales. I hope you enjoy reading that and the rest of the issue, as always.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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Printed by Wyndeham Peterborough, Storey's Bar Road, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, PE1 5YS

Distributed by Marketforce, 5 Churchill Place, Canary Wharf, London, E14 5HU www.marketforce.co.uk Tel: 0203 787 9060
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Victorian Occult

Lifting the shroud on the 19th century's obsession with death and the afterlife

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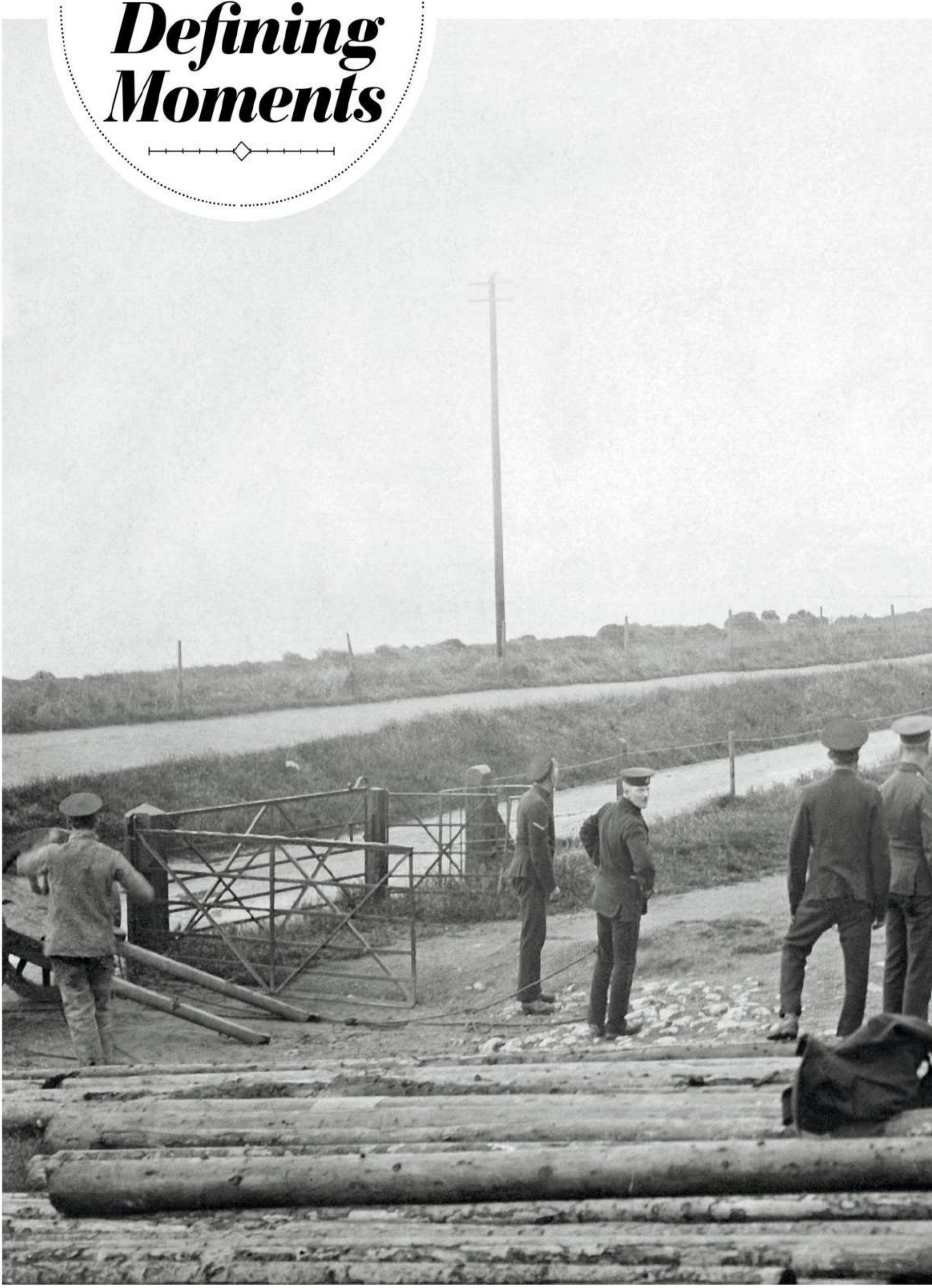
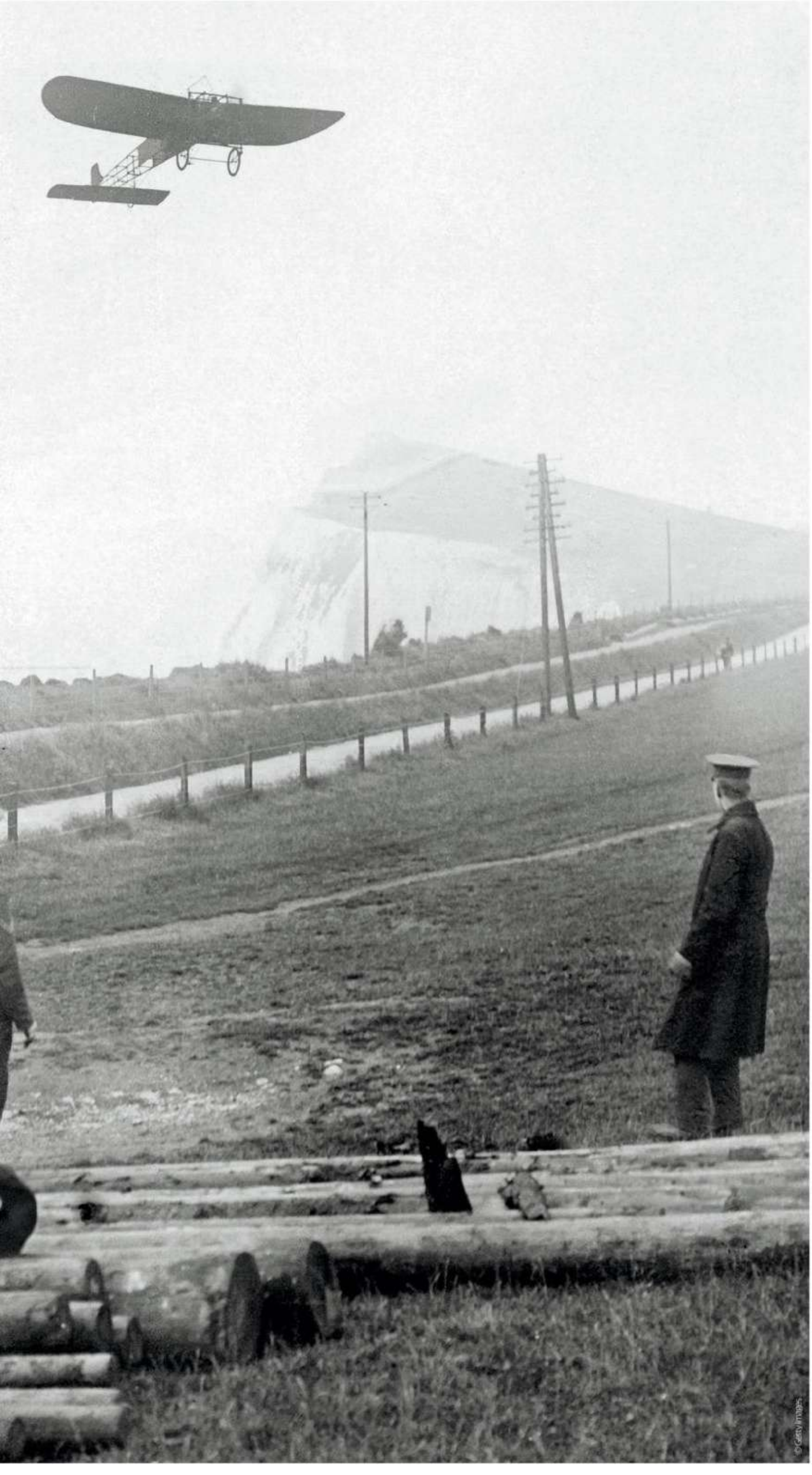
Defining Moments





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25 July 1909

THE FIRST CROSS-CHANNEL FLIGHT

French aviator and inventor Louis Blériot made history when he completed the first aeroplane flight across the English Channel, flying in his pioneering aircraft the Blériot XI. The flight from Calais to Dover only took 37 minutes, and for his achievement Blériot won a £1,000 prize from the *Daily Mail* newspaper.

© Getty Images

3-9 August 1936

JESSE OWENS WINS FOUR GOLD MEDALS

At the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, Owens won four gold medals, in the 100m, 200m, 4x100m relay and long jump, becoming the most successful athlete at the Games. Not only did Owens set three world records, as an African-American his victories also destroyed Hitler's hope that the Games would prove his theory of Aryan racial superiority.

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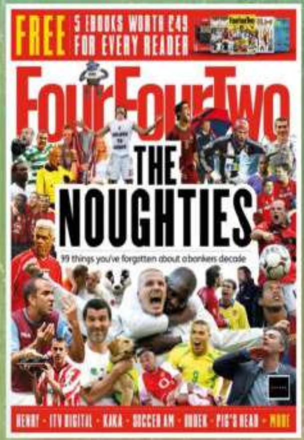
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ALL ABOUT

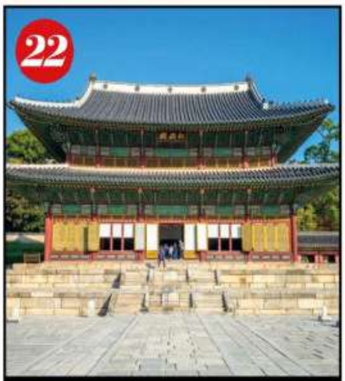
JOSEON KOREA

We explore the long royal dynasty of the Korean Peninsula that was constantly caught in a battle between the influence of China and Japan

Inside Gyeongbokgung Palace

Anatomy of a Joseon Official

Great Joseon Koreans



Joseon Korea and today

Written by Jessica Leggett, Callum McKelvie, Jonathan Gordon

History of Joseon Korea

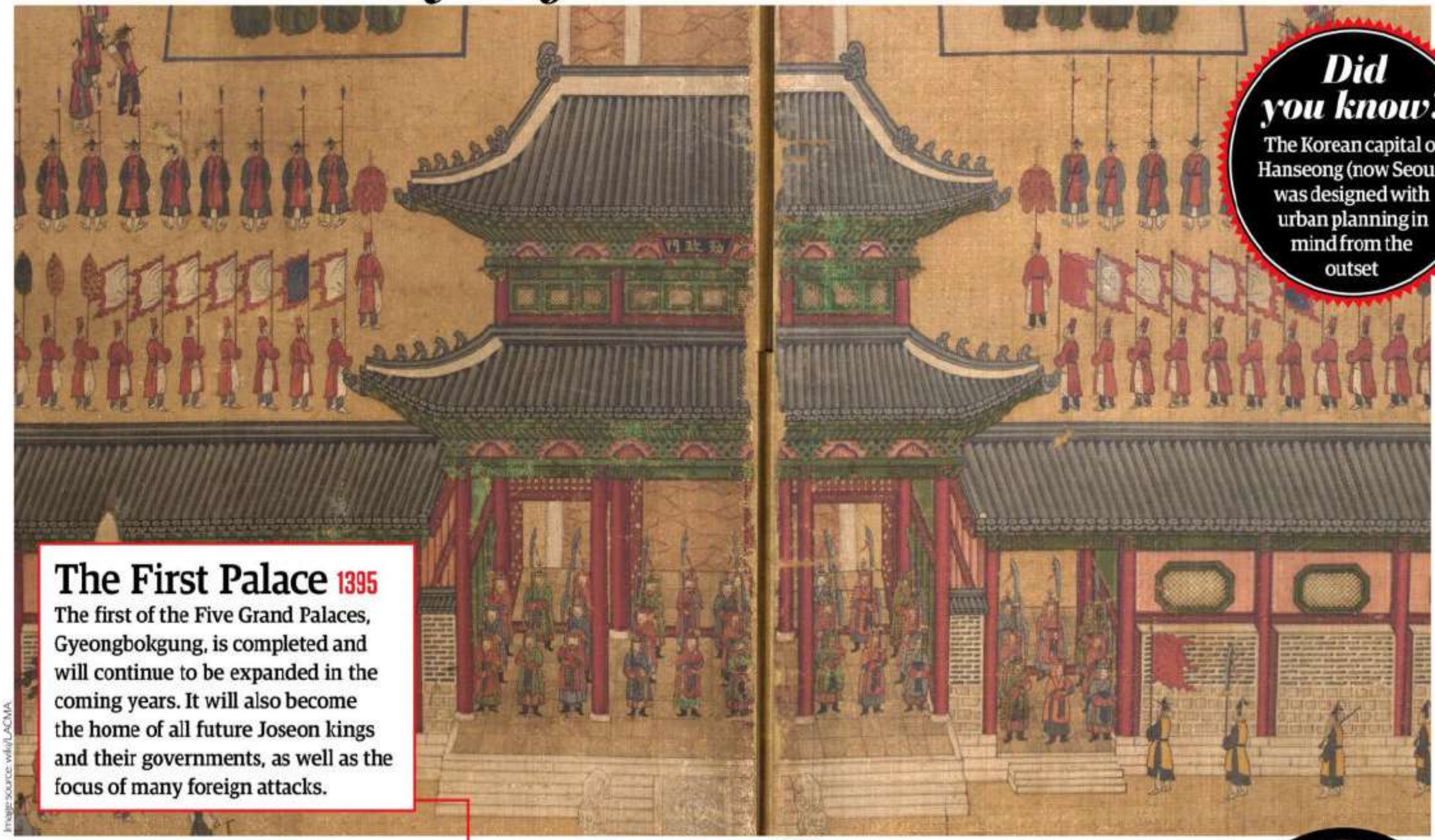


Image source: wiki/LACMA

Did you know?

The Korean capital of Hanseong (now Seoul) was designed with urban planning in mind from the outset

The First Palace 1395

The first of the Five Grand Palaces, Gyeongbokgung, is completed and will continue to be expanded in the coming years. It will also become the home of all future Joseon kings and their governments, as well as the focus of many foreign attacks.

A DYNASTY FALLS 1388

General Yi Seong-gye is ordered to attack Chinese troops on the border of the Goryeo Kingdom, but instead decides to lead his troops against his own leaders.

Image source: wiki/Samhanin

HALL OF WORTHIES 1420

Sejong the Great establishes the Hall of Worthies, a new research institute dedicated to the exploration of new ideas that could strengthen the kingdom.

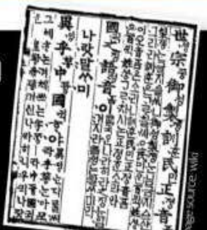


Image source: wiki

FIRST MANCHU INVASION 1627

Following Joseon support for the Ming Dynasty, the Later Jin of Manchuria invade in retaliation. After three months of fighting they make Korea a tributary state.

1388 1420 1592 1627

Image source: wiki/daum.net

A NEW KING 1392

Yi Seong-gye is victorious and crowned as the first king of a new Joseon Dynasty. He is given the honorific title Taejo, which translates to Great Progenitor.

Image source: wiki/reznami

A NEW ALPHABET 1446

The greatest achievement of the Hall of Worthies is the Hunminjeongeum document introducing a new alphabet, Hangul. This is now promoted around Joseon Korea.

A DUTCH VISITOR 1653

A Dutch ship captained by Hendrick Hamel wrecks on the island of Jeju and he spends 13 years in Korea, becoming the first European to report back on the Joseon Dynasty when he returns.

Image source: wiki/Wikifolks

Japan invades

1592

A samurai invasion lead by Toyotomi Hideyoshi seeks to invade the Korean peninsula. Lasting for six years, the Japanese are finally repelled with aid from China's Ming Dynasty, as well as the formation of civilian militias known as righteous armies.

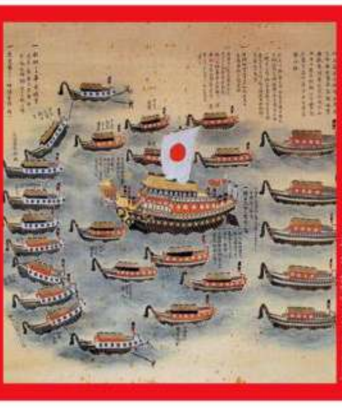


Image source: wiki/Ida Koshiro

Second Manchu invasion 1636

The newly formed Qing Dynasty of Manchuria invades the Korean peninsula again, with the intention of ending the relationship between Joseon Korea and Ming China once and for all. This cements the Qing Dynasty as the centre of the Imperial Chinese tributary system.

Image source: wiki/daum.net

Did you know?

The Imperial Chinese tributary system held China as the centre of a huge trade network

THE SINYU PERSECUTION 1801

A mass persecution of Korean Catholics is started by Queen Jeongsun during the reign of King Sunjo. By its end over 300 Catholics will have been executed.

ST. PAUL CHONG HA-SANG
Image source: wiki/Judgefloro

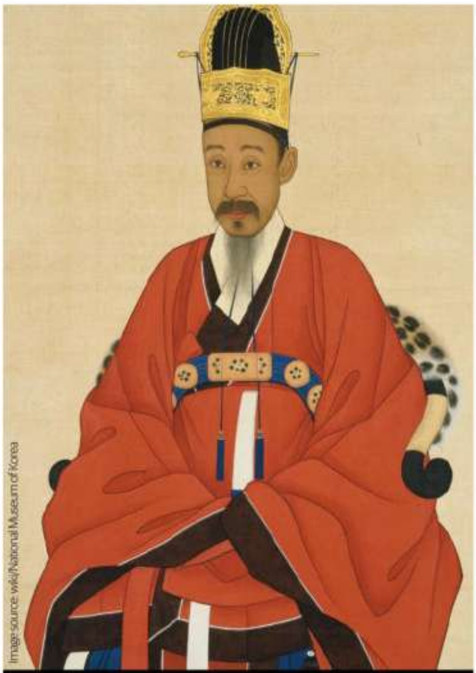


Image source: wiki/National Museum of Korea

The Last Regent 1864

Aged 11, King Gojong is crowned king with his father, Heungseon Daewongun, as regent. Daewongun begins an isolationist policy, summed up as, "No treaties, no trade, no Catholics, no West and no Japan." He was, however, in favour of closer ties with China.

Image source: wiki

FRENCH ATTACK 1866

After the execution of seven French missionaries, a punitive force is sent to seek retribution against Korea. The conflict lasts six weeks before the French are repelled.

Americans attack 1871

After the Koreans attack an American diplomatic and trade expedition on Ganghwa Island, the US sends a punitive force to demand an apology. The Joseon regime refuses to negotiate, further entrenching its isolationist stance against dealings with foreign governments.

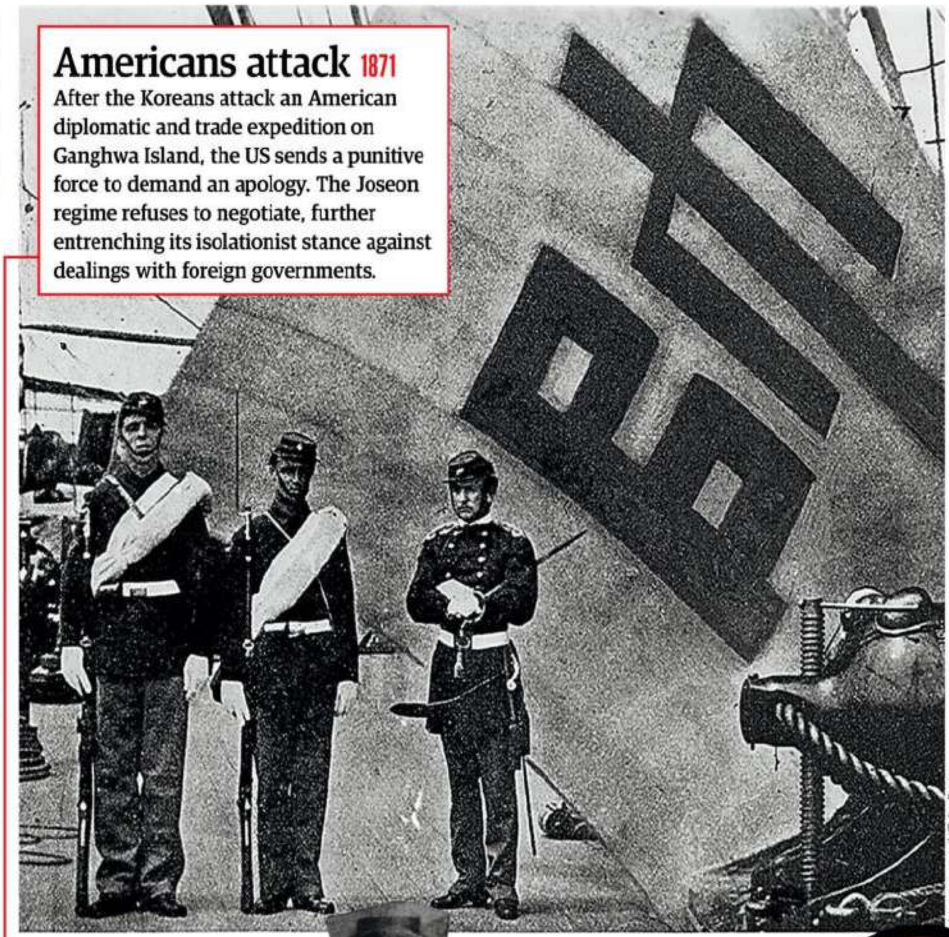


Image source: wiki/Felice Beato

The Imo incident

1882

Having forced the retirement of his father, King Gojong begins a programme of rapid modernisation with Japanese aid. Korean soldiers protest against this with a mutiny and riot in the capital Hanseong. Government officials are killed and buildings destroyed before the uprising is quelled.

Image source: wiki/Tokyo Keizai University Library

GAPSIN COUP 1884

With China and Japan at war and each vying for influence on Korea another uprising backed by the Japanese occurs, lead by reformer Kim Ok-gyun. A Chinese garrison is deployed to suppress it.

Image source: wiki

DONGHAK REBELLION 1894

Restrictions on the Donghak religion in west Korea lead to an uprising. China sends support, but upsets Japan in the process, contributing to the First Sino-Japanese War.

TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI 1895

Korea's independence from China is recognised after centuries of a tributary relationship when China and Japan sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki. However, Japan's influence increases.

Image source: wiki/suikeikai.meijijngu.or.jp

Image source: wiki/La Coree independante

THE QUEEN ASSASSINATED 1895

Having opposed Japanese influence in Korea and seeking a closer relationship with Russia, Queen Min is assassinated by Japanese agents. King Gojong flees the palace.

Image source: wiki

The Great Korean Empire 1897

Returning to his palace, King Gojong declares the founding of the Great Korean Empire, making him the first emperor of this new regime and bringing the Joseon Dynasty to an end along with all ties to Qing China.

Did you know?

By naming itself an empire, Korea declared it was now equal to China's Qing Dynasty

INSIDE HISTORY

GYEONGBOKGUNG PALACE

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA, 1395 – PRESENT

The story of Gyeongbokgung is full of splendour and hardship. As the largest of the Five Grand Palaces that were constructed by the Joseon Dynasty it was the primary residence and seat of government for most of the era, but that also made it the target of numerous attacks right up to the early 20th century.

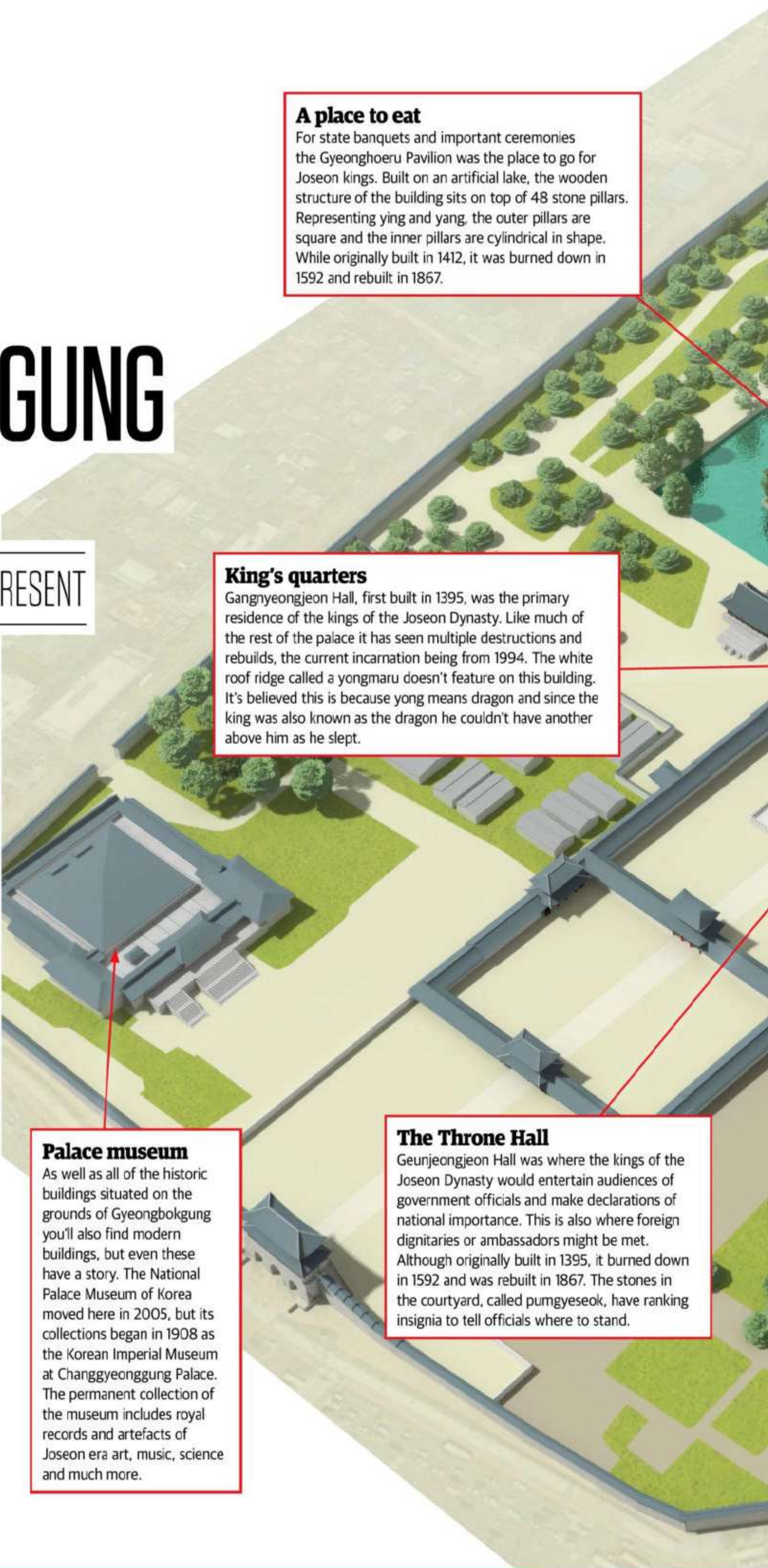
The first parts of Gyeongbokgung, which translates as Palace of the Crown Prince, were built in 1395 in what is now northern Seoul about three years into the reign of King Taejo, but it continued to expand in the years that followed.

Much of the site has now been given protected UNESCO status, but many parts have been through several reconstructions as a result of damage either accidental or deliberate. The first such incident of note were fires around 1553 that destroyed several major buildings, but these were restored the following year.

What followed 40 years later was tougher to recover from, namely the Japanese invasions lead by Toyotomi Hideyoshi between 1592-1598 (known as the Imjin War). The destruction of property at Gyeongbokgung was significant enough that the Joseon kings left the palace and moved to Changdeokgung instead, leaving Gyeongbokgung abandoned for 273 years.

The royal family did finally return in 1867 and the palace was restored to its former glory at the behest of Prince Regent Heungseon during the reign of King Gojong. Three hundred and thirty buildings and 5,792 rooms were restored.

However, when Queen Min was assassinated by Japanese agents in 1895, King Gojong left the palace and the Joseon Dynasty would never return. Years of Japanese occupation from 1910 onwards saw more buildings torn down, often for materials to be used elsewhere, but a process of restoration has been ongoing since 1989 and about 40 per cent of the site is now believed to have been completed.



A place to eat

For state banquets and important ceremonies the Gyeonghoeru Pavilion was the place to go for Joseon kings. Built on an artificial lake, the wooden structure of the building sits on top of 48 stone pillars. Representing ying and yang, the outer pillars are square and the inner pillars are cylindrical in shape. While originally built in 1412, it was burned down in 1592 and rebuilt in 1867.

King's quarters

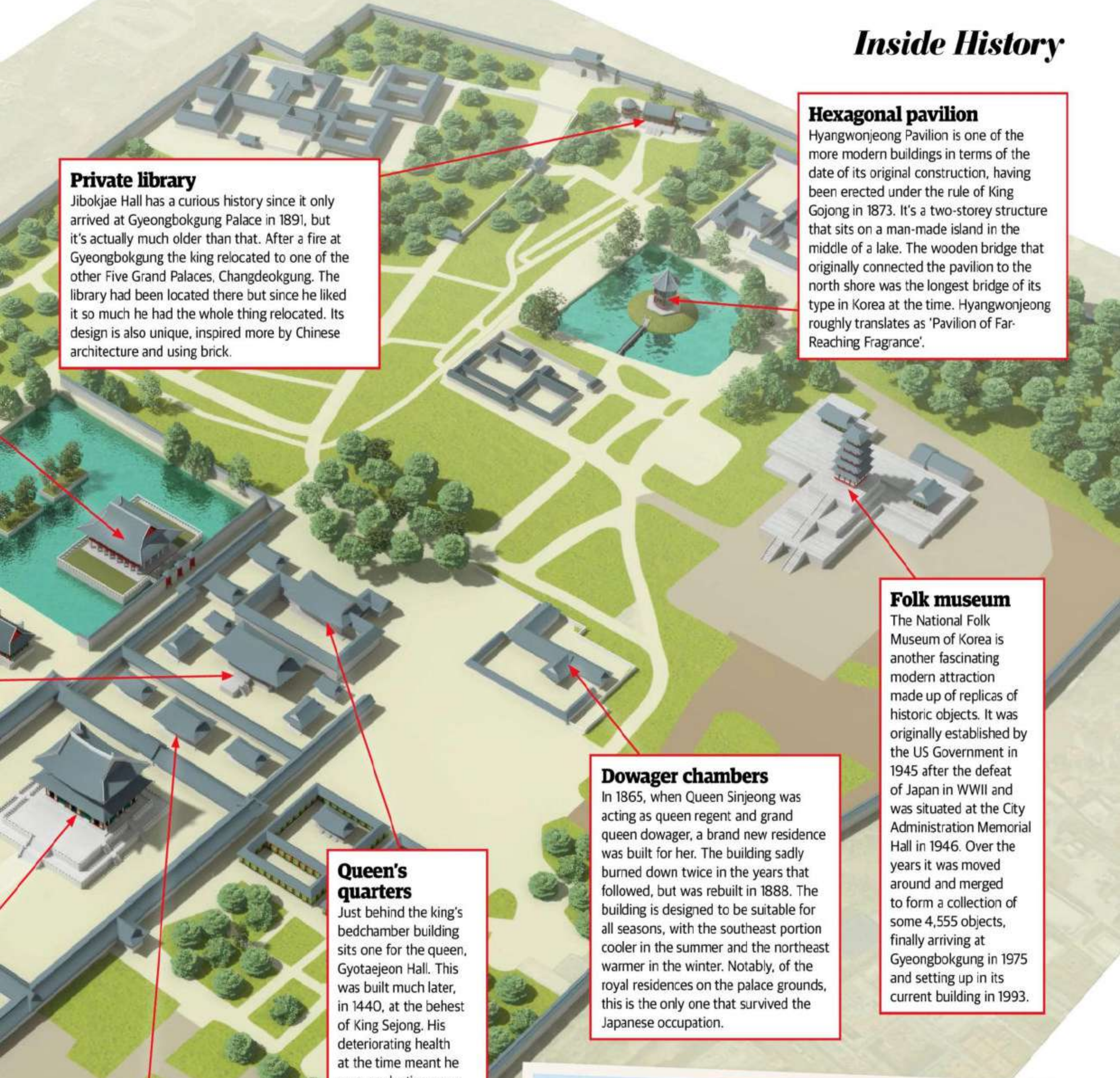
Gangnyeongjeon Hall, first built in 1395, was the primary residence of the kings of the Joseon Dynasty. Like much of the rest of the palace it has seen multiple destructions and rebuilds, the current incarnation being from 1994. The white roof ridge called a yongmaru doesn't feature on this building. It's believed this is because yong means dragon and since the king was also known as the dragon he couldn't have another above him as he slept.

Palace museum

As well as all of the historic buildings situated on the grounds of Gyeongbokgung you'll also find modern buildings, but even these have a story. The National Palace Museum of Korea moved here in 2005, but its collections began in 1908 as the Korean Imperial Museum at Changgyeonggung Palace. The permanent collection of the museum includes royal records and artefacts of Joseon era art, music, science and much more.

The Throne Hall

Geunjeongjeon Hall was where the kings of the Joseon Dynasty would entertain audiences of government officials and make declarations of national importance. This is also where foreign dignitaries or ambassadors might be met. Although originally built in 1395, it burned down in 1592 and was rebuilt in 1867. The stones in the courtyard, called pumgyeseok, have ranking insignia to tell officials where to stand.



Private library

Jibokjae Hall has a curious history since it only arrived at Gyeongbokgung Palace in 1891, but it's actually much older than that. After a fire at Gyeongbokgung the king relocated to one of the other Five Grand Palaces, Changdeokgung. The library had been located there but since he liked it so much he had the whole thing relocated. Its design is also unique, inspired more by Chinese architecture and using brick.

Hexagonal pavilion

Hyangwonjeong Pavilion is one of the more modern buildings in terms of the date of its original construction, having been erected under the rule of King Gojong in 1873. It's a two-storey structure that sits on a man-made island in the middle of a lake. The wooden bridge that originally connected the pavilion to the north shore was the longest bridge of its type in Korea at the time. Hyangwonjeong roughly translates as 'Pavilion of Far-Reaching Fragrance'.

Folk museum

The National Folk Museum of Korea is another fascinating modern attraction made up of replicas of historic objects. It was originally established by the US Government in 1945 after the defeat of Japan in WWII and was situated at the City Administration Memorial Hall in 1946. Over the years it was moved around and merged to form a collection of some 4,555 objects, finally arriving at Gyeongbokgung in 1975 and setting up in its current building in 1993.

Dowager chambers

In 1865, when Queen Sinjeong was acting as queen regent and grand queen dowager, a brand new residence was built for her. The building sadly burned down twice in the years that followed, but was rebuilt in 1888. The building is designed to be suitable for all seasons, with the southeast portion cooler in the summer and the northeast warmer in the winter. Notably, of the royal residences on the palace grounds, this is the only one that survived the Japanese occupation.

Queen's quarters

Just behind the king's bedchamber building sits one for the queen, Gyotaejeon Hall. This was built much later, in 1440, at the behest of King Sejong. His deteriorating health at the time meant he was conducting more and more executive business from his bed and to give his wife more privacy he had a residence built just for her. Like Gangnyeongjeon Hall, it was torn down for parts by the Japanese in 1920 and rebuilt in 1994.

Main office

Sajeongjeon Hall was the main executive office of the king where the main duties of the ruler and his officials took place. This is also where meetings with government were held. The two buildings that sit beside it employ an underfloor heating system called an ondol that uses wood smoke to warm up the masonry flooring above. This way the executive office was comfortable all year round.

The palace hosts reenactments of historic events

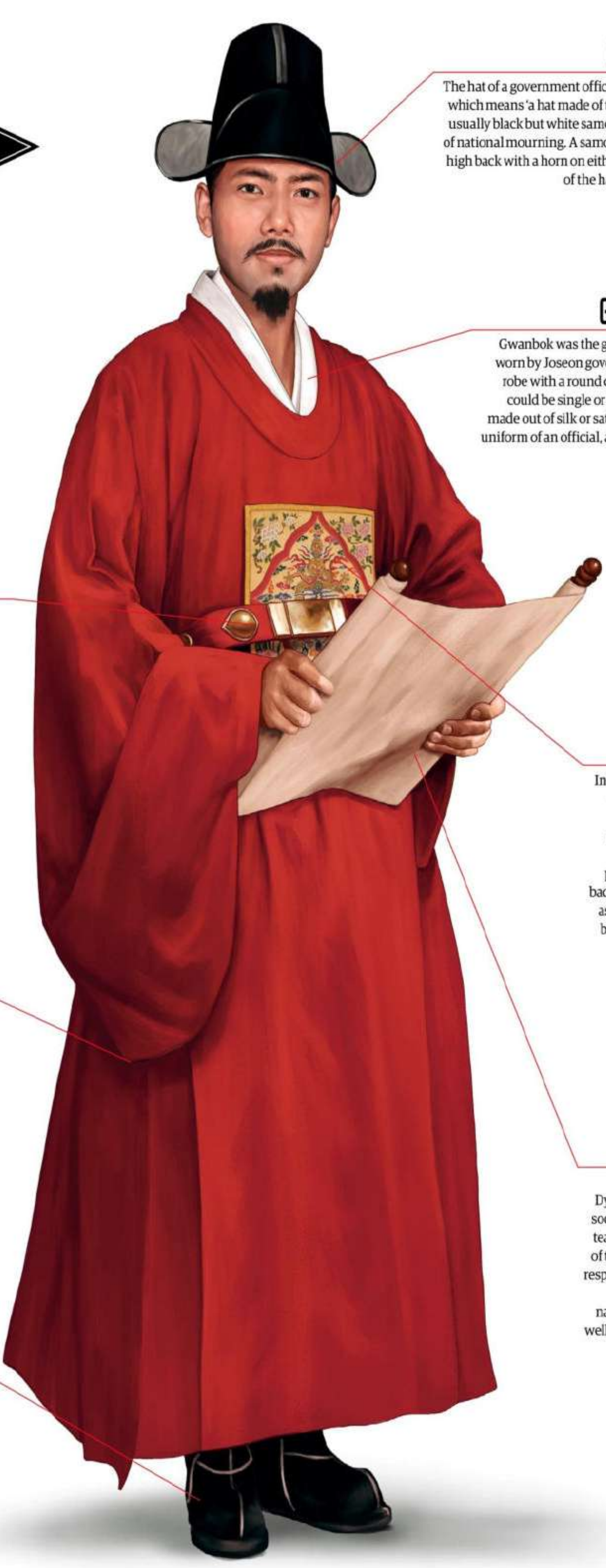
Image source: wiki/ David McNally, USAG-Yongsan

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

THE
Anatomy of

A JOSEON OFFICIAL

KOREA, 15TH – 19TH CENTURY



OFFICIAL HAT

The hat of a government official was called a samo, which means 'a hat made of thin silk'. Samos were usually black but white samos were worn at times of national mourning. A samo has a low front and a high back with a horn on either side, but the shape of the hat changed over time.

GOVERNMENT ATTIRE

Gwanbok was the general term used for the uniform worn by Joseon government officials. This particular robe with a round collar is called a dallyeong, which could be single or double layered and was typically made out of silk or satin. While it was usually the daily uniform of an official, a dallyeong could also be worn as wedding attire for the groom.

STATUS MARKER

Waist belts, usually gold, silver or black bands, were an important part of a government official's uniform as they were another way to identify the rank of the wearer. First-rank officials wore seodae belts made from rhino horn, which were considered only second to the jade belt worn by the king.

DISTINGUISHING RANK

In 1454, officials of the Joseon court who were of the third rank or higher began to wear hyungbae – rank badges – on the front and back of their uniforms to identify their place in the social and political hierarchy. These embroidered badges depicted clouds and animals such as cranes, peacocks and lions, and these badges would eventually be worn by all nine ranks of officials.

DIFFERENT COLOURS

The dallyeong was worn in various colours depending on the role of the official. Black was considered the most formal colour and high-ranking officials usually wore red dallyeong, while lower officials wore blue or green. Dark blue was worn by those who worked in public duty.

REFORMED SYSTEM

At the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty, both the government and society were reformed based on the teaching of Confucius. The officials of the centralised government were responsible for many areas including the military, administration and national ceremonies and rituals, as well as offering guidance to the king.

TRADITIONAL FOOTWEAR

Government officials wore hwa, shoes with a high neck and often curled at the toes, with their uniforms during the Joseon Dynasty. Different names for hwa, such as suhwaja and mokhwa, indicate that there were various types of hwa depending on the material used and the social class of the wearer.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

SEATED BODHISATTVA

EXPLORING RELIGION DURING THE JOSEON DYNASTY, KOREA, C.MID-17TH CENTURY

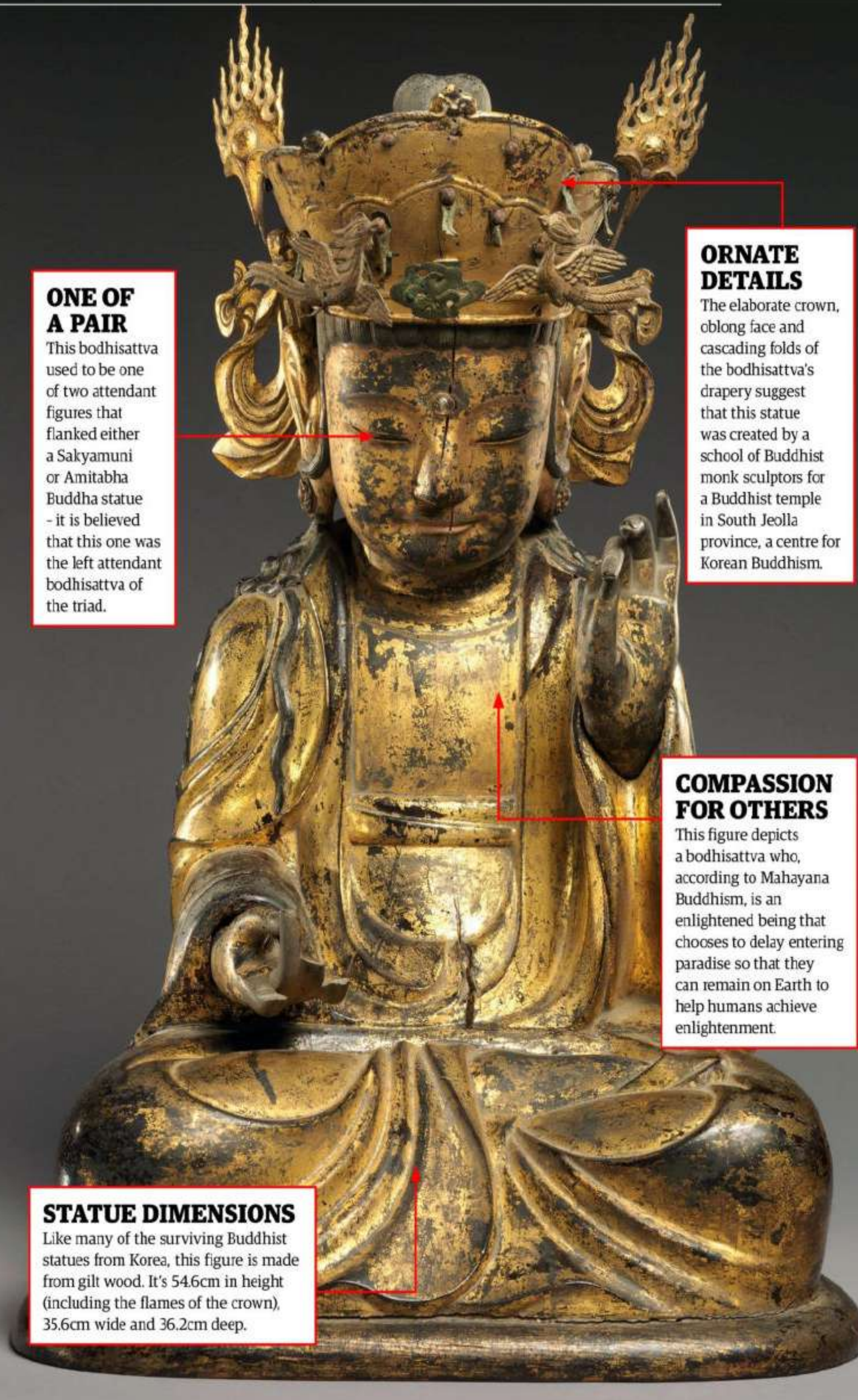
Buddhism spread through the three kingdoms of Korea - Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla - between the 4th and 5th centuries after arriving from China. It became the official state religion and remained so for over 1,000 years until the fall of the Goryeo Dynasty, when it was replaced by Neo-Confucianism at the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty. The founder of the new dynasty, General Yi Seong-gye (later known as King Taejo) had been forced to reject Buddhism to gain the support of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials and consolidate his position.

These scholars wanted to reform the country and used the teachings of Confucius to reorganise society. To encourage people to convert from Buddhism to Confucianism, they introduced social customs in line with the Confucian tradition and founded various Neo-Confucian schools for education. At the same time, Buddhism was suppressed with a series of restrictions that included reducing the number of Buddhist temples, confiscating land and goods, and forbidding Buddhist monks from entering the capital.

Nevertheless, when the Japanese invaded Korea between 1592 and 1598, King Seonjo asked Buddhist Seon Master Hyujeong, also known as Seosan Daesa, to arrange and lead guerilla units of monk warriors to help fight the invaders. The role that these monk warriors played in repelling the invaders helped to restore some acceptance of Buddhism, especially after Queen Munjeong repealed the ban on Buddhist worship while acting as regent for her son, Myeongjong, between 1545 to 1565.

Despite the repression of Buddhism during the dynasty, many Joseon kings still favoured Buddhism and tolerated it among their family, with members of the royal court commissioning Buddhist art for their private devotion. In fact, Buddhist practices and worship still occurred throughout the country and iconography, such as religious statues, continued to be produced even though Neo-Confucianism remained the ruling ideology for 500 years.

Korean Buddhist sculpture is recognised as some of the finest in the world, with many examples surviving to this day. This statue dates back to the mid-17th century and is housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.



ONE OF A PAIR
This bodhisattva used to be one of two attendant figures that flanked either a Sakyamuni or Amitabha Buddha statue - it is believed that this one was the left attendant bodhisattva of the triad.

ORNATE DETAILS
The elaborate crown, oblong face and cascading folds of the bodhisattva's drapery suggest that this statue was created by a school of Buddhist monk sculptors for a Buddhist temple in South Jeolla province, a centre for Korean Buddhism.

COMPASSION FOR OTHERS
This figure depicts a bodhisattva who, according to Mahayana Buddhism, is an enlightened being that chooses to delay entering paradise so that they can remain on Earth to help humans achieve enlightenment.

STATUE DIMENSIONS
Like many of the surviving Buddhist statues from Korea, this figure is made from gilt wood. It's 54.6cm in height (including the flames of the crown), 35.6cm wide and 36.2cm deep.

Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Hall of Fame
JOSEON KOREANS

From kings to poets, meet ten of the dynasty's most fascinating figures

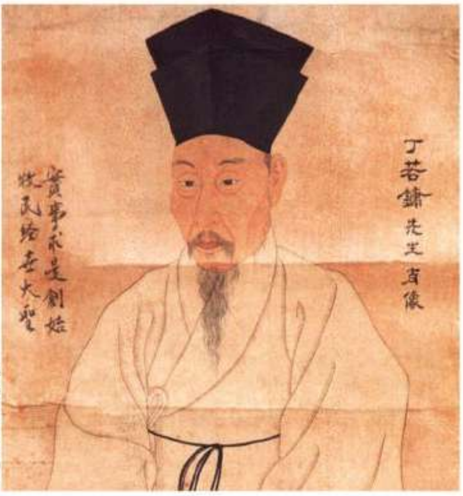


Image source: wiki/gongju

JEONG YAK-YONG 1762-1836

Usually remembered by his pen name Dasan, Jeong Yak-yong was one of the greatest thinkers of the Joseon Dynasty. He passed the state exam to become a high-ranking official at the age of 28 and was a trusted advisor and confidant of King Jeongjo, who asked him to design Hwaseong Fortress. In 1801, Yak-yong was accused of associating with Catholics and was subsequently exiled by his rivals to Gangjin, in the South Jeolla province, for the next 18 years. However, Yak-yong wrote a number of his major works while in exile, focusing on topics such as politics, ethics and reform.

KING SEJONG

1397-1450

Best remembered by his epithet 'the Great', King Sejong was known for appointing people from all social classes as civil servants. Under his rule, the Korean Renaissance occurred, with numerous technological advances and the establishment of a royal research institute, the Hall of Worthies, in 1420. Sejong also strengthened the military, reformed the Korean calendar and is credited with inventing the phonetic alphabet, Hangul, so commoners could learn to read and write. His government also introduced maternity leave for female servants at public offices. The king was unwell in his final years and so his son, Crown Prince Munjong, acted as his regent.

Image source: wiki/Republic of Korea

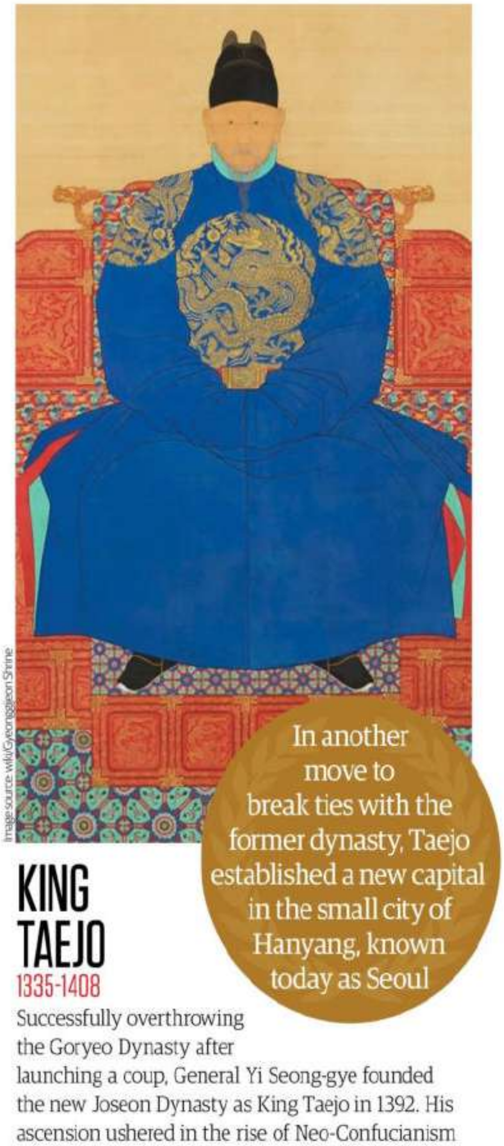


Image source: wiki/Gyeonggijeon Shrine

KING TAEJO

1335-1408

Successfully overthrowing the Goryeo Dynasty after launching a coup, General Yi Seong-gye founded the new Joseon Dynasty as King Taejo in 1392. His ascension ushered in the rise of Neo-Confucianism and improved relations with the Ming Dynasty in China, which had previously supported his faction in the Goryeo court. In 1398, Taejo abdicated after becoming frustrated with his sons, who were fighting over who would succeed him. He died ten years later in Changdeokgung Palace.

> In another move to break ties with the former dynasty, Taejo established a new capital in the small city of Hanyang, known today as Seoul

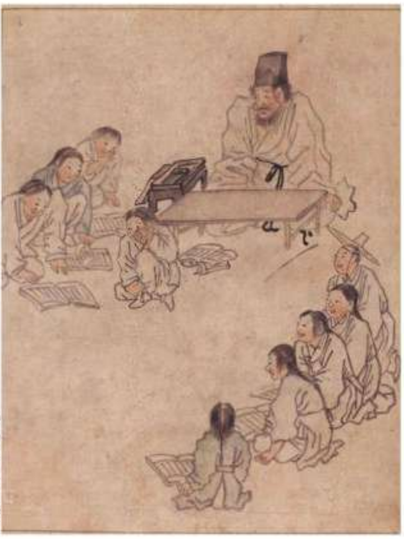


Image source: wiki/gongju

KIM HONG-DO

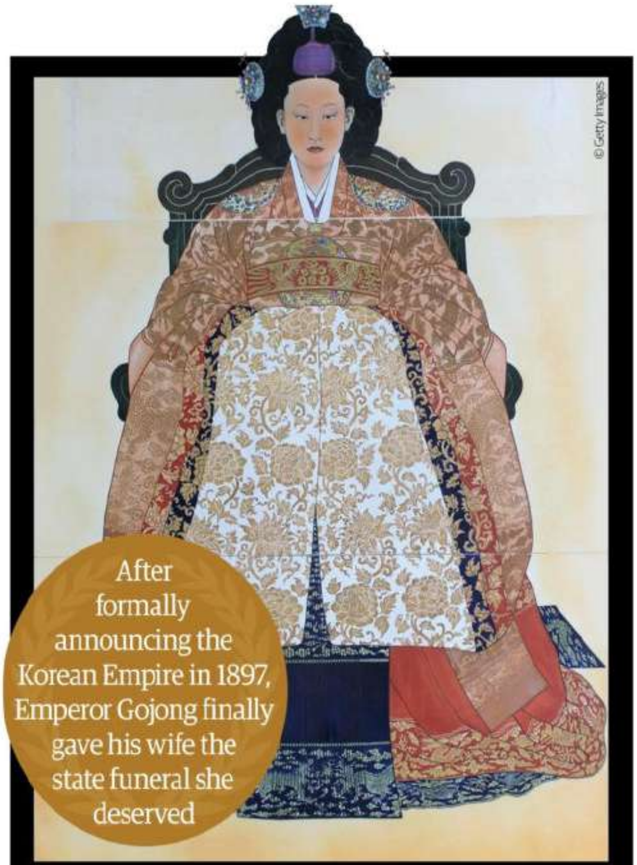
C.1745-C.1806

Also known by his artist name Danwon, Kim Hong-do was a renowned court painter from the Joseon Dynasty. He painted landscapes, animals, portraits, and Buddhist and Daoist themes, but his genre paintings were his most famous works, focusing on the working class and their everyday activities. These lively, candid paintings were greatly admired for their natural depictions of emotion and Hong-do is widely credited for starting a new trend in Joseon art.

YI HWANG 1501-1570

Yi Hwang was a philosopher, writer and one of the most renowned Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Joseon Dynasty. Also known by his pen name, T'oegye, Yi Hwang took the civil service exam and held a number of government positions, although his true passion was for studying. He eventually retired in his late-forties and established his own academy, although he was recalled to office numerous times by the king - in total, he served four Joseon kings during his lifetime. His last great work, *Ten Diagrams On Sage Learning*, is a classic of Korean Neo-Confucian tradition and it went through several reprints.

Image source: wiki/Integral



© Getty Images

After formally announcing the Korean Empire in 1897, Emperor Gojong finally gave his wife the state funeral she deserved

EMPRESS MYEONGSEONG

1851-1895

Queen Min, consort of King Gojong, opposed Japan's grip over Joseon Korea following the former's victory in the first Sino-Japanese war. She tried to counter Japan's imperial ambitions by advocating a pro-Russian policy and therefore was seen as a threat to the Japanese and their plans to annex Korea. In October 1895 the queen was brutally assassinated in Gyeongbokgung Palace and her body was burned, leaving the nation shocked. She was posthumously given the title Empress Myeongseong when her husband became Emperor of Korea.

HEO NANSEOLHEON

1563-1589

Heo Nanseolheon was a talented poet who, at just eight years old, wrote *Inscriptions On The Ridge Pole Of The White Jade Pavilion In The Gwanghan Palace*, which was considered a work of poetic genius. Much of her poetry was influenced by her life - in particular her unhappy marriage - but her work was cut short when she passed away at the age of 27. Nanseolheon had asked her brother, Heo Gyun, to burn her poems after her death but, thankfully, he did not destroy them all. They were later published posthumously, becoming popular in China and Japan in the 18th century.

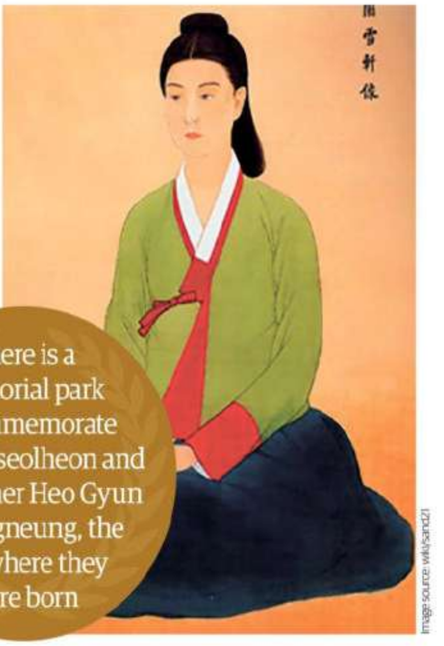


Image source: wiki/sand21

There is a memorial park to commemorate Heo Nanseolheon and her brother Heo Gyun in Gangneung, the city where they were born

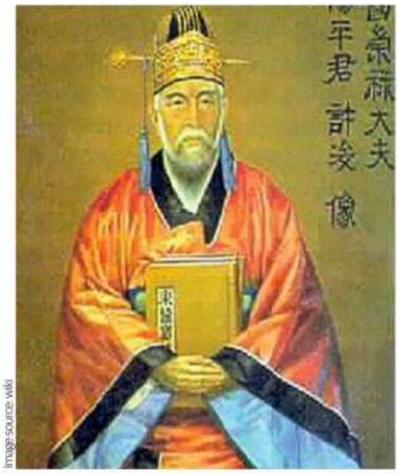


Image source: wiki

HEO JUN

1546-1615

Heo Jun was an acclaimed physician and scholar at the court of King Seonjo. He was asked to create an encyclopedia of medical knowledge that could be published and given to the people, but he was exiled by jealous officials after Seonjo's death in 1608. Nonetheless, Heo Jun continued the project privately and produced the *Dongui Bogam*, which was considered the defining text of traditional Korean medicine and is still influencing Eastern medicine today.

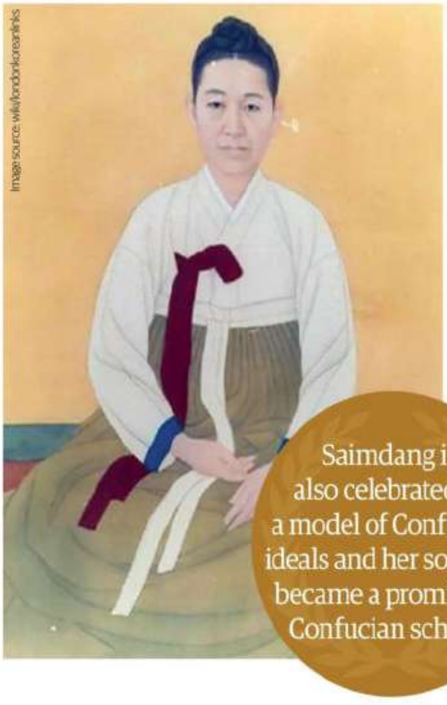


Image source: wiki/londonkoreanlinks

SHIN SAIMDANG

1504-1551

One of the most famous women in Korean history, Shin Saimdang was a writer, artist and calligraphist who is best remembered for her delicate paintings, which included landscapes, insects and plants. Her father ensured that she received an education that was usually only given to boys, and when he arranged her marriage he chose a husband who would not interfere with her art. In 2009, she became the first woman to appear on a Korean banknote.

Saimdang is also celebrated as a model of Confucian ideals and her son, Yi I, became a prominent Confucian scholar

JANG YEONG-SIL

C.1390-C.1443

One of Joseon's best scientists and inventors, Jang Yeong-sil was a peasant who rose through the government to become the chief court engineer under King Sejong. He contributed to the development of Korean weapons and produced many inventions, including a celestial globe, a sundial and a self-striking water clock, which became the standard timepiece across the country. In 1441 he developed his most famous invention, the cheugugi, a rain gauge. In 1442 he was expelled from court by his enemies in the elite who opposed his social mobility.

Image source: wiki/Himasaram

Q&A With...

KYUNG MOON HWANG

TAKING A LOOK AT JOSEON HERITAGE AND THE MODERNISATION OF KOREA

Professor Kyung Moon Hwang is professor of history at the University of Southern California, teaching courses on Korean history, East Asian studies and world history. His books include *A History Of Korea: An Episodic Narrative* and *Rationalizing Korea: The Rise Of The Modern State, 1894-1945*.

South Korean traditional dancers performing at Changgyeonggung Palace

© Getty Images

Q. IT IS OFTEN ARGUED THAT JAPANESE COLONIAL RULE RESULTED IN THE MODERNISATION OF KOREA. HOW DID THIS NARRATIVE BEGIN AND WHY HAS IT PERSISTED TO THIS DAY?

A. Japanese officials and intellectuals constructed this narrative in the early 20th century in order to justify Japanese colonial rule over Korea (1910-1945). Naturally, after 1945 liberated Koreans on both sides of the national border vehemently rejected this notion that colonialism had delivered modernity. In its place, a dominant counter-narrative arose that presented an internal basis of modernisation, which viewed Japanese rule as having distorted and even stopped this native process. This is a very complicated issue, however, and many scholars both within and outside the country have pushed back against such an overtly nationalist historical orthodoxy. Their view, while no longer serving to justify Japanese colonialism (except in right-wing circles in Japan), persists in various forms, and the debate has, not surprisingly, become highly politicised.

Q. YOU'VE OPENLY DISAGREED WITH THIS VIEW, ARGUING THAT THE PROCESS OF MODERNISATION IN KOREA BEGAN DURING THE JOSEON DYNASTY. WHY DO YOU BELIEVE THIS?

A. The evidence is clear that major efforts toward a fundamental restructuring of state, society, and even culture and economy, began in the late-19th century, before Japanese colonisation. If the Japanese had not conquered Korea, these steps would be readily considered the important opening stage of an extended process, particularly since the changes under Japanese rule drew upon these earlier reforms. I'm certainly not interested in adding to the nationalist narrative, as I do not deny the significant advances during the colonial period - but it seems the emphasis on the colonial impact went too far, though understandably so, in trying to counter the now-dominant nationalist view. Finally, it's very important to keep in mind that such a complex contestation in historical understanding about modernity and national identity is not unusual when considering the recent history of countries involved in imperialism and colonialism - that is to say, almost all countries.

Q. THE GABO REFORMS WERE INTRODUCED IN THE FINAL YEARS OF THE DYNASTY. WHAT WERE THEY AND WHAT ROLE DID THEY PLAY IN MODERNISING KOREA?

A. The Gabo Reforms of 1894-95 promulgated a systematic, comprehensive vision of a new social and political order that would overturn fundamental features of Korean life that had developed over many centuries, if not millennia. Not all of these new laws could be implemented immediately, and some took many years or even decades. But these reforms, which included the elimination of slavery and social discrimination, the creation of a new governing structure, and the weakening of Confucianism as the ruling ideology, acted as a sweeping template for modernisation thereafter, regardless of who - Korean conservatives, Korean reformists or Japanese imperialists - was in charge politically. The Gabo Reforms, in short, provided a lasting blueprint for modern change.

Q. MODERN SOUTH KOREA HAS A RICH CULTURAL HERITAGE, FOR EXAMPLE WITH ITS ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND CUISINE. HOW MUCH OF THIS DEVELOPED DURING THE JOSEON DYNASTY?

A. First, as with just about all countries, many of the deep 'traditions' identified as the basis for modern national identity have been neatly reinvented. In contemporary South Korea, it seems this principle has applied most to notions about the country's cuisine and 'feelings' or sentiment. Still, there is strong evidence for real cultural connections to the Joseon Dynasty, especially in literature (folk tales), visual art, and music and dance. Speaking of the latter, your readers might wonder if such connections to Korean tradition are also there for K-pop. I'm no expert in K-pop, but I don't see them. It's just as interesting to view K-pop as a product of recent economic and cultural developments - big business, internet globalisation, marketing - over the past couple of decades.

Past Forward
Essays in Korean History
Kyung Moon Hwang

Past Forward: Essays In Korean History is out now from Anthem Press

Q. WHAT'S THE BIGGEST LEGACY OF THE JOSEON DYNASTY THAT STILL ENDURES IN KOREA TODAY?

A. That's tough to say. There are so many major legacies, including (Confucian) familial collectivism, as seen in extreme form in North Korea. But in considering just South Korea, perhaps even stronger is status consciousness, both as a driving engine for socioeconomic change and as a formidable force that stifles and demoralises people. The striving for status or rank, or the desire for social recognition, has generated great individual effort in education and labour, which was key to the country's economic growth, but it's also been a terribly oppressive burden. Generally, I think that much of the 'modernisation' that Koreans have pursued over the past century or so has tried to overcome and overturn the legacies of the Joseon Dynasty, while preserving those that are inspiring and fruitful. It remains a difficult struggle to strike this balance.

Places to Explore
HISTORIC LOCATIONS

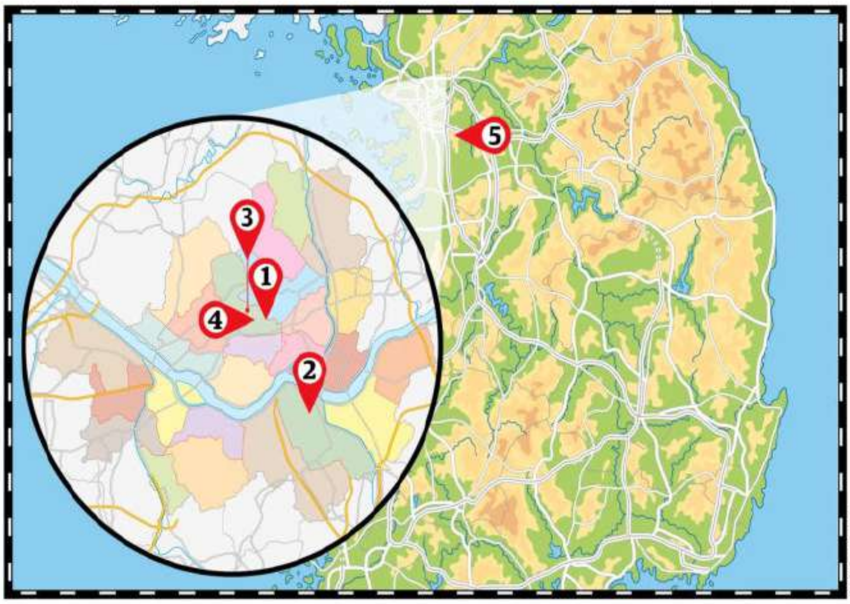
Five sites that highlight the rich heritage of the Joseon Dynasty

① FORTRESS WALL OF SEOUL

SEOUL

The construction of the Fortress Wall began in 1396, at the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty, to defend the boundaries of Hanyang (modern-day Seoul). In total, 200,000 labourers took part in building the wall, which is 18.6km long and between five to eight-metres high, and runs along the ranges of the four main mountains surrounding the centre of Seoul: Bugaksan, Naksan, Namsan and Inwangsan. Over the centuries, parts of the wall have been refurbished or restored and this can be seen in the different types of stones used, many of which have inscriptions from the builders involved. There are many sights to see as you hike along the wall, including the Baegangmaru Summit, the highest point of the wall, as well as the six remaining historical gates that provided entry into the city. For a price, there are also various excursions available, including mountain trails and tours for those who want to learn more about this historic landmark.

The wall is free to visit and open 24 hours.



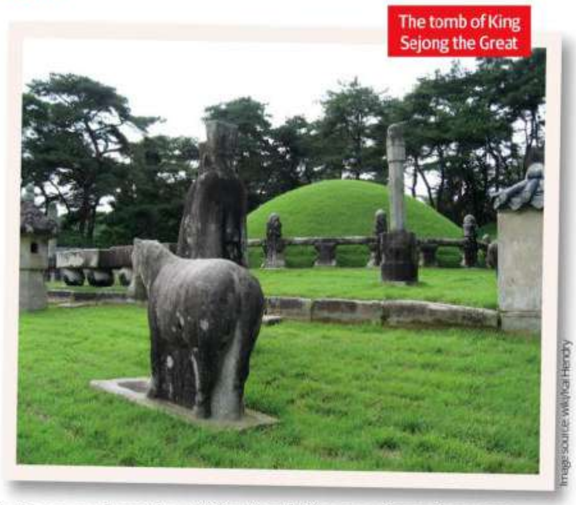
2x © Getty Images

The Fortress Wall offers expansive views of Seoul

Image source: wiki/Korea.net / Korean Culture and Information Service (Jeon Han)

② ROYAL TOMBS OF THE JOSEON DYNASTY

GYEONGGI-DO AND SEOUL



The tomb of King Sejong the Great

Image source: wiki/Kai Hendry

The Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty, along with the ancestral rites that are still performed on the sites, were designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2009. Beginning in the early 15th century, the tombs were built for every king and queen of the dynasty - including those who had posthumously been given their titles - over the next 500 years. They are some of the most well-preserved royal tombs in the world, with two of them located in North Korea and another 40 in South Korea, where they can be found in 18 cities across the country. The Seonjeongneung royal tomb is the most central one in South Korea, where King Seongjong, his wife Queen Jeonghyeon and King Jungjong are buried. The tombs were built with Confucian traditions and beliefs in mind - for example, they could not be located near any mountain or field, and most of them can be found near or around Seoul due to the belief that the spirits of the deceased monarchs would continue to positively influence the capital.

Opening times and ticket prices vary depending on the tombs you choose to visit. royaltombs.cha.go.kr

© Getty Images

Changdeokgung Palace was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997

3 CHANGDEOKGUNG PALACE

JONGNO-GU, SEOUL

Alongside Gyeongbokgung, Changgyeonggung, Deoksugung and Gyeonghuigung, Changdeokgung is one of the Five Grand Palaces in Seoul. The most well-preserved palace of all the Joseon royal palaces today, it was originally built in 1405 by King Taejong as a secondary palace, but it was burnt down during the Japanese invasion in 1592. Afterwards, Changdeokgung was the first palace to be rebuilt in 1610 and it subsequently became the primary official royal palace for the next 270 years. To have a look around the palace, you will need to join a one-hour guided tour, which is available in English and Korean. Among the sights that you will see is Injeongjeon Hall, the throne hall of the palace and a designated National Treasure of Korea, which was used for ceremonial occasions such as the coronation ceremony and receiving foreign envoys at court. Other buildings at the Changdeokgung Palace include Seonjeongjeon Hall (the king's daily office, which was built in 1647 and is the only remaining building in the palace complex with a blue-tiled roof), Huijeongdang Hall (the king's bed-chamber) and the government offices in the Gwolnaegaksa Complex. There is also a tour available for the palace's Secret Garden, where you can see various pavilions and fountains such as the 18th century Juhamnu Pavilion, which was used as a royal library, and the peaceful Aeryeonji Pond, which translates as 'pond of the beloved lotus'.

Open Tuesday to Sunday, 9am to 5pm. Average adult ticket is 3,000 won for the palace and 8,000 won for the Secret Garden. cdg.go.kr/eng

4 JONGMYO SHRINE

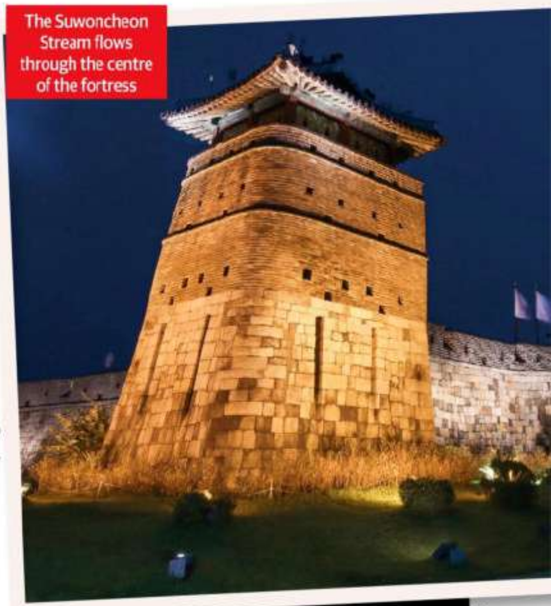
SEOUL

The Jongmyo Shrine was the primary place of worship for Joseon kings, housing the spirit tablets of the deceased kings and queens of the Joseon Dynasty. It was originally built in the late-14th century and then later destroyed during the Japanese invasion in 1592, then eventually rebuilt in the early 17th century. There is a free but mandatory guided tour in English that explores the history and tradition of the shrine and visitors will be able to see the main hall, Jeongjeon, which is known for its breathtaking architecture and is credited as the largest single wooden structure in the world. Another important building to see is Yeongnyeongheon Hall (Hall of Eternal Peace), which is an auxiliary shrine. Jongmyo Shrine was built in accordance with the Confucian ideology of ancestral worship and the Jongmyo Jerye, the royal shrine ritual, is still carried out today, 600 years later. The shrine was named a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site in 1995.

The Jongmyo Shrine is a part of Korea's cultural heritage

Image source: wiki/Oskar Alexanderson

Open Wednesday to Monday, 9am to 6:30pm. Closed on Tuesdays. Average adult ticket is 1,000 won. jm.cha.go.kr



The Suwoncheon Stream flows through the centre of the fortress

Image source: wiki/KIMJUNGWOOK

5 HWASEONG FORTRESS

SUWON, GYEONGGI PROVINCE

Designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997, Hwaseong Fortress was built by King Jeongjo from 1794 to 1796 to honour and house the remains of his father, Crown Prince Sado, who was executed by his father after being locked in a rice chest and starved to death. The fortress was designed by Jeong Yak-yong, one of the greatest thinkers of the Joseon Dynasty, who drew inspiration from the military architecture of China, Japan and Europe. To reduce the construction time he even invented the geojunggi, a piece of apparatus that used a pulley system to lift heavy stones. The fortress was also used as a new political base and for defensive purposes, and visitors will be able to see the variety of defence features that were built into the 5.74km wall, including floodgates, beacon towers, command posts, firearm bastions and bunkers. There are even holes between the bricks to allow arrows, long spears and guns to be used during an attack. There are several different tours of Hwaseong available for tourists, including one with a tourist trolley inspired by the palanquins used during the Joseon Dynasty. Time your visit right and you will able to catch the annual Suwon Hwaseong Cultural Festival, which is held every October to commemorate King Jeongjo's filial piety and dream for national prosperity and military power.

Open daily, 9am to 6pm. Average adult ticket is 1,000 won. swcf.or.kr/english

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VICTORIAN OCCULT

Lifting the shroud on the 19th century's obsession with death and the afterlife

Written by Callum McKelvie

On 1 April 1848, ten-year-old Catherine Fox and her sister Margaret, 14, received a mysterious visitor at their home in New York - a ghost. The spirit, which went by the name Mr Splitfoot (a popular name for the devil at the time) communicated with the girls through a series of 'rappings' - tapping out messages on a hard surface. It was able to discern their ages and answer questions they put to it. Later, the phantom claimed to be the ghost of peddler Charles B Rosna who, five years earlier, had been murdered and buried in the cellar.

As a result of these strange events, the girls and their supposed powers caught the public's attention. They first visited Rochester and demonstrated their 'rapping' for a paying audience, later making regular appearances in New York City. Having performed for such personalities as historian George Bancroft and novelist James Fenimore Cooper, the girls became a popular entertainment act and news of their otherworldly abilities spread to Great Britain. Of course, no one took any notice that the day the Fox sisters first 'communed' with Mr Splitfoot also happened to be April Fool's Day.

"The Fox sisters created the first craze for spiritualism," says Simone Natale, author of *Supernatural Entertainments: Victorian Spiritualism And The Rise Of Mass Media Culture*. "What I find interesting is that the emergence of spiritualism is considered to begin in the small town of Huddersfield in the state of New York, where they first reported experiencing this phenomena. However, really their demonstration in Rochester should be considered the beginning. This was the first time spiritualism was presented as a sensation to a paying public. The Fox sisters also had managers and people who handled their relationship with the press, so there was an element of show business."

Soon other mediums appeared, demonstrating their abilities in return for money. In the US and Europe, a spiritualism craze began as mesmerism, mediumship and magic fuelled the public imagination, seemingly in contradiction to the simultaneous growth in rational and scientific thought. The Victorian relationship with the supernatural is an interesting one in the supposed age of scientific reasoning, the era of Darwin ▶

Illustration by Joe Cummings
Details: © Getty Images

and the century of Chambers. Yet the Victorian obsession with death and any possibility of life afterwards cannot be denied. Due to the Fox sisters' hoax, a bizarre mix of sensationalist sideshowery and serious scientific investigation began and lasted until the end of the century and into the next, in the United States, Britain and most of Europe.

One of the initial starting points for spiritualism's spread into the United Kingdom was a visit by the medium Maria B Hayden. Setting sail with her husband in October of 1852, their arrival was met with some controversy and there were many who disputed their claims. Despite this, the Haydens attracted the attention of numerous upper class personalities, including Charles Young (described as the leading tragedian actor of his time), Sir Charles Isham and royal physician Dr John Ashburner. They publicly expressed their amazement at Maria Hayden's supernatural abilities, with Young in particular struggling to understand how she was aware of facts whose details he had revealed to no one. Charging a guinea for her services, her husband also launched a publication on the topic of mediums and spiritualism entitled *The Spirit World* (that only lasted one issue). Whether sceptics or believers, there was no denying people's interest in Hayden and soon table tapping developed into a popular pastime.

However, not all proved as successful as Hayden. Throughout the century there were scandals involving many popular mediums that exposed their various 'tricks of the trade' and ended their careers. Perhaps one of the most notorious of these swindlers was Daniel Donglas Home, who was involved in several scandals. During a seance in 1855 a particularly embarrassing scene occurred when he presented an apparition to the poet Robert Browning and proclaimed it to be the latter's son who had died in infancy. The apparition was unveiled to be Home's bare foot, made all the more awkward because Browning had had no such child.

> "During a seance in 1855 a particularly embarrassing scene occurred when he presented an apparition to the poet Robert Browning and proclaimed it to be the latter's son who had died in infancy"

EBENEZER SCROOGE

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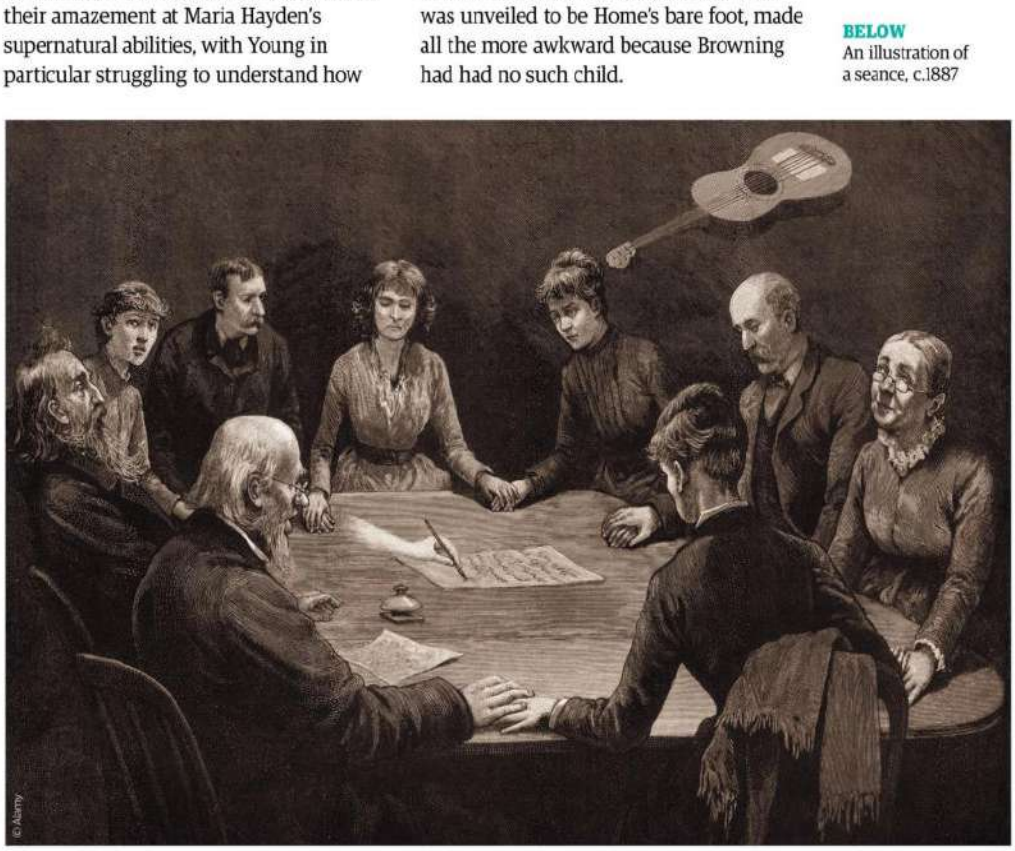
Browning's encounters and subsequent anger with Home would later inspire his poem *Mr Sludge - 'The Medium'*, which opens with the line: "Now don't, Sir! Don't expose me!" Surprisingly this seems to have been a favourite trick of Home's as barrister Frederick Merrifield also claimed to have witnessed the use of the phantom foot, as well as a fake arm attached to Home's own. Frank Herme and Charles Williams were two other nefarious tricksters who came unstuck. In 1875 the duo were caught out when the latter acted the part of a spirit by clothing himself in two yards of 'stiffened muslin, wound round his head and hanging down as far as his thigh'.

One of the most notorious spirit-scandals, however, avoided mediumship entirely and relied on the use of a relatively new piece of technology - the camera. At some point during the 1860s a young American photographer, William Mumler, was developing one of his pictures and was startled to see the visage of his dead cousin in the image. Discovering a knack for photographing spirits of the dead, the enterprising Mumler was able to turn this into a business opportunity and soon had many clients, including Abraham Lincoln's widow Mary Todd Lincoln.

As Mumler's business grew it became increasingly reliant on grieving families



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BELOW
An illustration of a seance, c.1887

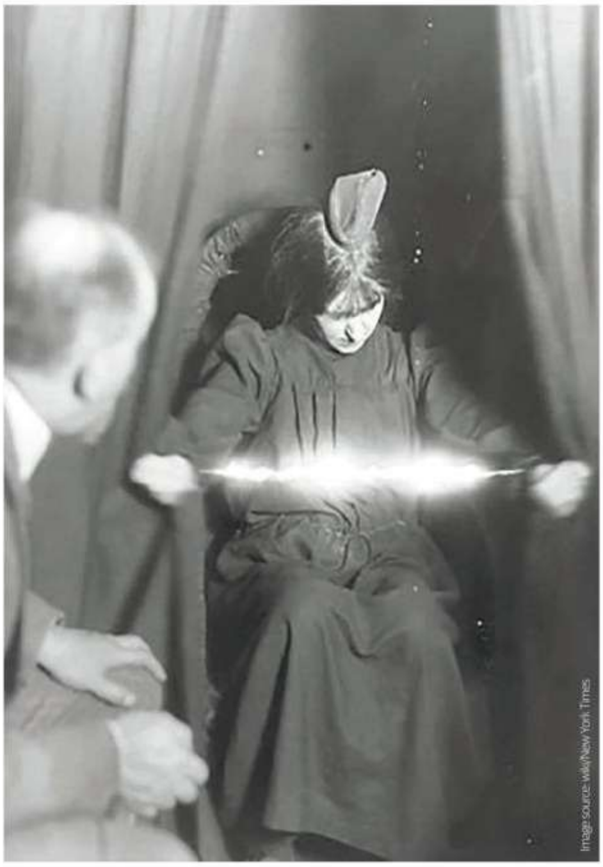


Image source: wiki/New York Times

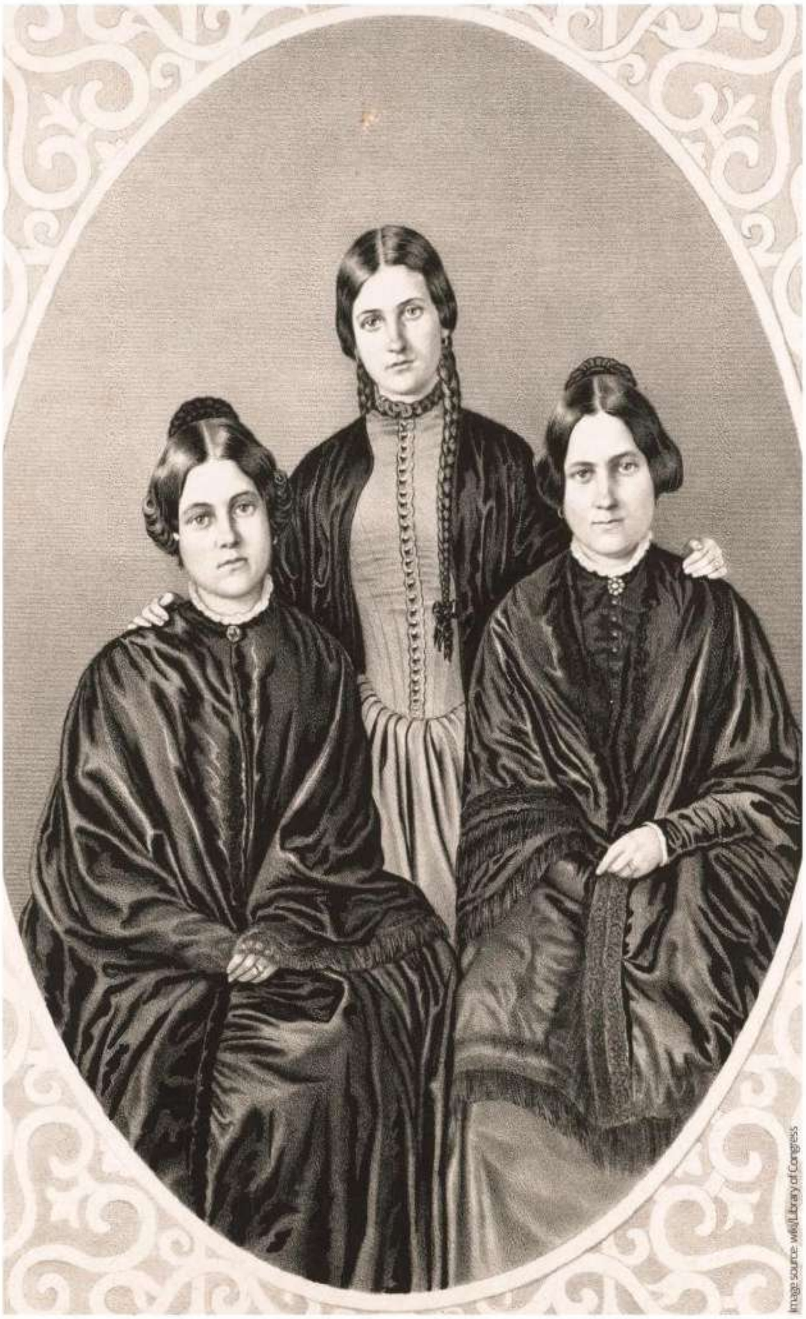


Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

ABOVE-LEFT An 1840s illustration for Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*

ABOVE
A photo of the fraud Eva Carrière during a seance, with light between her hands

RIGHT From left: Margaret, Catherine and Leah Fox

whose loved ones had perished in the Civil War. This brought with it a certain amount of fame and notoriety, as Mumler found himself with a long list of enemies committed to exposing him as a fraud.

One of his most vociferous opponents was PT Barnum, the American entrepreneur and businessman portrayed by Hugh Jackman in 2017's *The Greatest Showman*. Barnum took particular dislike to Mumler's exploits and claimed, among other allegations, that the photographer had broken into homes in order to obtain pre-existing photographs of clients' loved ones. Mumler was eventually placed on trial for fraud and Barnum testified against him. In one particularly damning piece of evidence, Barnum hired Abraham Bogaerdus to replicate Mumler's effect and create a photograph that showed Barnum with the ghost of Abraham Lincoln. This, along with the gradual realisation that the numerous 'spirits' photographed by Mumler were actually still among the living, left his reputation in tatters. Despite being acquitted and resuming his career as a portrait photographer, he never again dabbled in the spirit world.

However, Mumler had not been alone in his use of 'spirit' photography, nor did belief in the possibility die out following his trial. It remained a popular exploit throughout the century and today a variety of examples can be found in museums across the world.

"The relationship between spiritualism and evidence is a very important element," says Natale. "One of the things that happens with spirit photography is that it provides a form of evidence. Around the same time that spirit photographers were producing their works, there was a lot of doubt within the spiritualist movement that these could be trusted. In fact, there were attempts to get testimonies from people who witnessed spirit photographs being developed. However, in my opinion, the key thing was that photography was part of an emerging visual culture that started in the 1860s. At this time there were the first developments of photography as a mass medium. They were printed, circulated and used as a visual curiosity, a form of entertainment, and the same thing happened with spirit photography. It also presented a material object that was visually compelling and prints were sold by spiritualist publishers or presented in lectures alongside the magic lantern."

Elsewhere in the United States, another spiritual renaissance was occurring. These days New Orleans has a reputation as one of the USA's paranormal hot spots and much of this reputation rests on the city's connection to voodoo. 'Louisiana Voodoo' is a form of spiritualism based on the

GHOST STORIES

Five mysterious hauntings and supernatural happenings that obsessed 19th century Britain

The Hammersmith Ghost

Towards the end of 1803, several people claimed to have been attacked by a malevolent spirit in the Hammersmith area of London. Believed to be a suicide victim whose soul could not rest as they hadn't been buried in consecrated ground, two female victims died from fright and a brewer's servant was attacked in a graveyard. As a result local men armed themselves and patrolled the streets, among them one Francis Smith. Smith came across bricklayer Thomas Milwood, who was entirely clad in white for his work. Panicking, Smith shot and killed Milwood. The resultant trial set important legal precedents regarding accountability and mistaken belief.

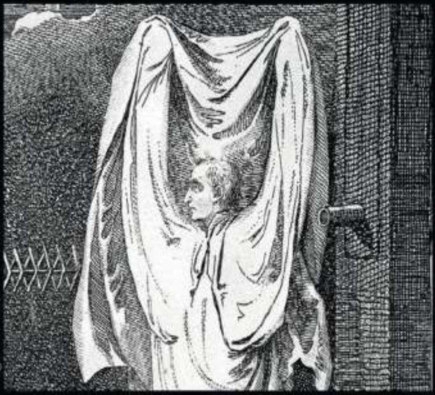


Image source: wiki/Wellcome Collection

The Electric Horror Of Berkeley Square

A notorious hotspot for supernatural happenings during the latter half of the 19th century, many ghosts walked the halls of 50 Berkeley Square in central London. A particular room on the second floor caused more fear than most, however, and tales include a young maid found screaming, dying shortly afterwards, and Lord Thomas Lyttelton shooting at a mysterious creature in the night. In 1879 an issue of *Mayfair Magazine* reported that "the very party walls of the house, when touched, were found saturated with an electric horror".

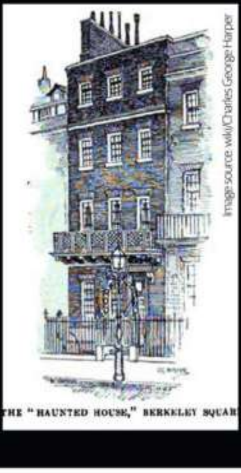

THE "HAUNTED HOUSE," BERKELEY SQUAR

Image source: wiki/Charles George Harper

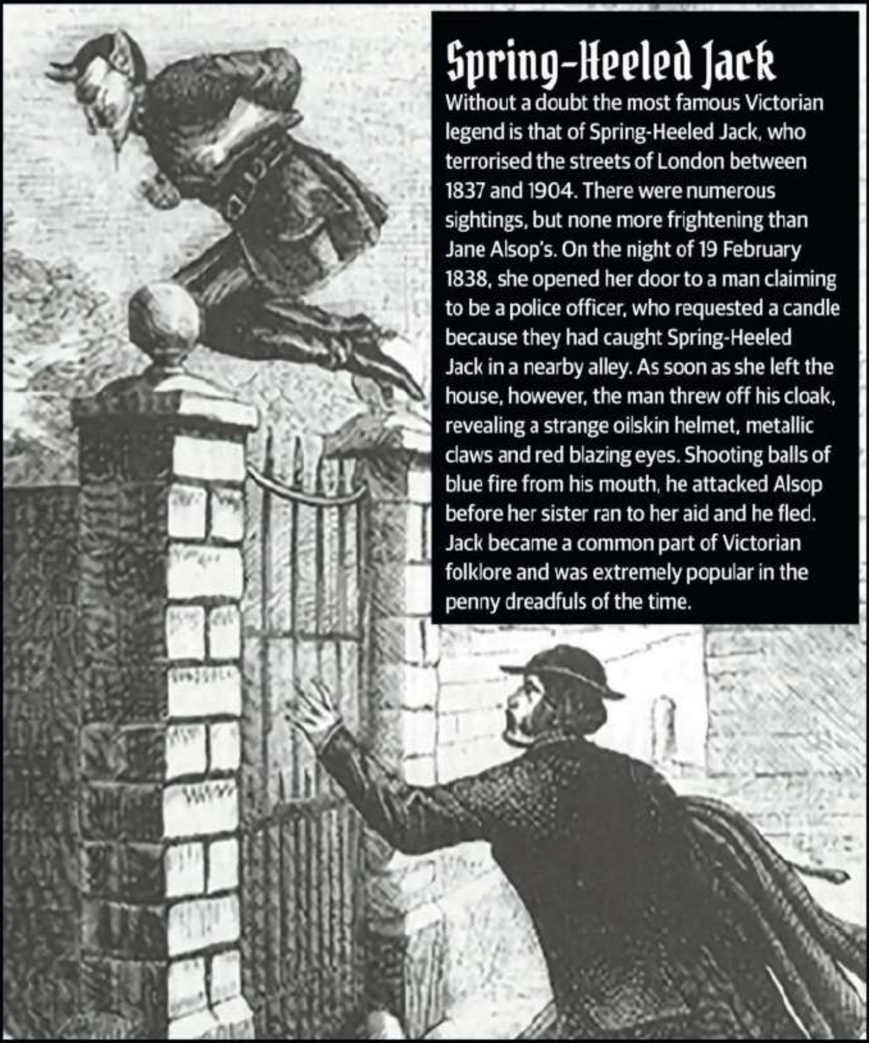


Image source: wiki/Anomaly

Spring-Heeled Jack

Without a doubt the most famous Victorian legend is that of Spring-Heeled Jack, who terrorised the streets of London between 1837 and 1904. There were numerous sightings, but none more frightening than Jane Alsop's. On the night of 19 February 1838, she opened her door to a man claiming to be a police officer, who requested a candle because they had caught Spring-Heeled Jack in a nearby alley. As soon as she left the house, however, the man threw off his cloak, revealing a strange oilskin helmet, metallic claws and red blazing eyes. Shooting balls of blue fire from his mouth, he attacked Alsop before her sister ran to her aid and he fled. Jack became a common part of Victorian folklore and was extremely popular in the penny dreadfuls of the time.

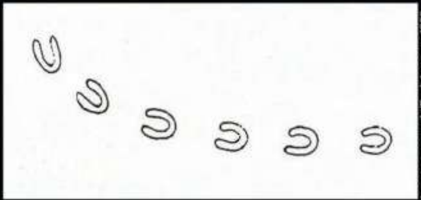


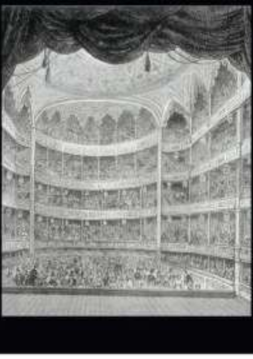
Image source: wiki/English papers 1855

Devil's Footprints

In February of 1855, trails of strange hoof marks appeared overnight in the snow. Covering a distance of 40 to 100 miles, they appeared on the tops of houses, fields, gardens, and in places enclosed by high walls. Local parishioners feared the marks had been left by Old Nick himself and numerous explanations, including an escaped kangaroo, have been touted ever since.

The Grey Man Of The Theatre Royal

The Theatre Royal on Dury Lane in London plays host to many spectres, the most famous being the Grey Man, an 18th century nobleman. In the late 1870s legend has it that workmen uncovered a bricked-up skeleton with a sword protruding from its ribs. Could this have been the Grey Man himself?



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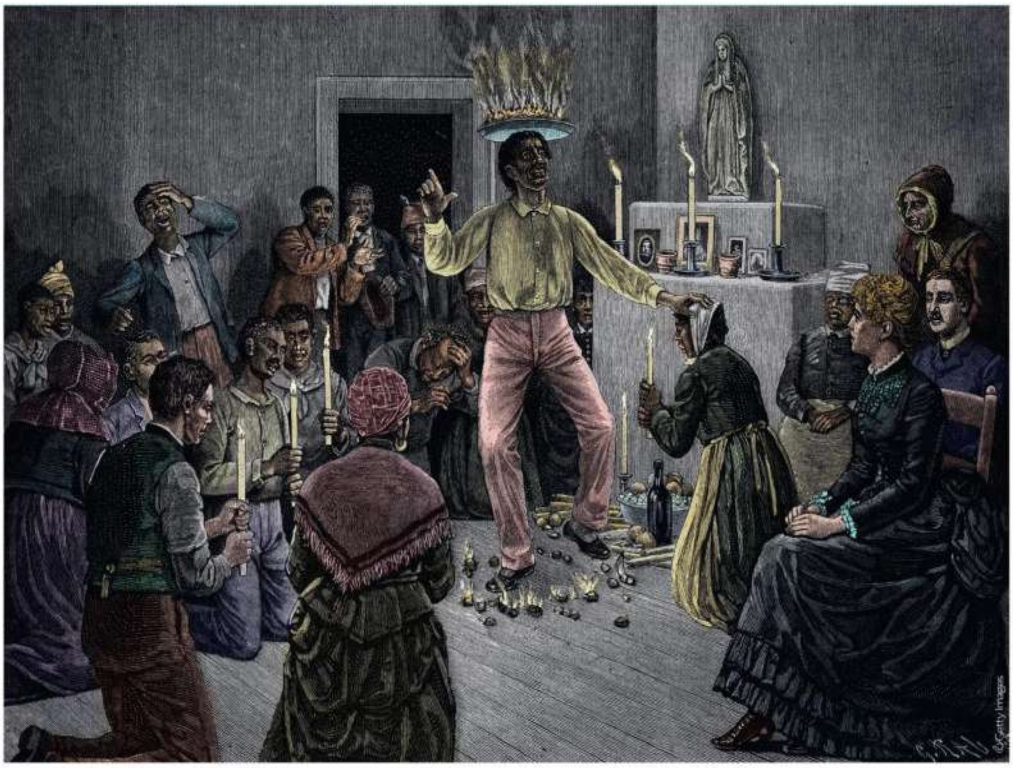
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ABOVE Contemporary illustration of a voodoo ceremony

RIGHT Mary Todd Lincoln in the photo that was said to show the ghost of Abraham Lincoln

"Mumler was developing one of his photos and was startled to see the visage of his dead cousin in the image"

traditional Haitian religion and began in the mid 1700s, flourishing during the 19th century. In this period, no practitioner was more powerful than Marie Laveau, one of 15 'Voodoo Queens'.

Born around 1801 to the former slave Marguerite Henry D'Arcantel and Charles Laveaux, much of her life is shrouded in mystery. Entering into a relationship with Christophe Glapion, a descendent of an aristocratic French family, they moved into a creole cottage and it was here around 1820 that Laveau began practitioning. She opened a beauty parlour aimed at some of the wealthier families in New Orleans, which not only provided her with the latest gossip but also with a place through which to sell her charms and dolls. In the 1850s her fame as a Voodoo Queen led to several accounts of her activities in local newspapers, with one in particular noting: "Marie and her wenches were continuously disturbing the peace and that of the neighbourhood with their fighting and obscenity and infernal singing and yelling... [in] the hellish observance of the mysterious rites of Voudou... one of the worst forms of African paganism."

In 1874, she held a rite for St John's Eve on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain that attracted some 12,000 followers. Laveau's most integral contribution, however, was in furthering the introduction of elements of Roman Catholicism into traditional voodoo, a practice which had begun during the religion's initial import in the early 18th century.

Back in Great Britain, the spiritualist obsession was in full-swing. The Society For Psychical Research was founded in 1882 with the intention of investigating ("without prejudice or prepossession of any kind") various paranormal phenomena and acted as an extremely fierce proponent of the movement. Several decades earlier in 1862, The Ghost Club had been formed for much the same reason. Originally having its roots in discussions between fellows at Cambridge, it counted Arthur Conan Doyle and Charles Dickens among its members. Often incorrectly assumed to be a result of the death of Conan Doyle's son Kingsley in 1918, Conan Doyle's interest may well have been a lifelong obsession. In January 1880 he attended a lecture entitled *Does Death End All?* and wrote to his mother saying it was "very clever thing indeed," but ultimately claimed that it was, "not convincing to me."

Thirteen years later, in 1893, his interest had developed enough to persuade him to join the Society For Psychical Research. His focus was always primarily towards the spiritual and the dead as opposed to areas such as mesmerism, although he was known to occasionally dabble in that too. However, more often than not his time with the society was taken up by experimenting with 'table tapping' and automatic writing. Conan Doyle's fascination with the spiritual would eventually caused it to surface in his stories. His short story *Playing With Fire*, for example, tells of a group of people struggling with the consequences of a seance. Perhaps the most striking example is one of his later novels, *The Land Of Mist* (1926), featuring the hero of *The Lost World*, the hot-tempered Professor Edward Challenger. The story deals directly with spiritualism, even to the extent of having its sceptical hero converted into a believer at the book's conclusion. Somewhat troublingly, the second section of *The Land Of Mist* suggests that the Central Intelligence (God) punished humanity for laughing at the possibility of an afterlife by instigating the slaughter of World War I.

Image source: wiki/Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne

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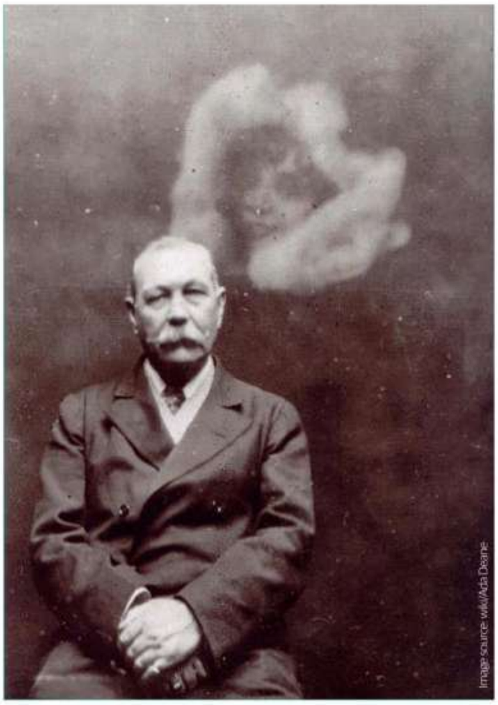


Image source: wiki/Ada Deane

ABOVE-LEFT & RIGHT Author of *Sherlock Holmes* and devoted spiritualist Arthur Conan Doyle

Conan Doyle was by no means the only literary figure of this era to turn to the supernatural as inspiration for his stories. As the public interest in phantoms and spooks grew, it didn't confine itself simply to table tapping and soon seeped into popular culture as well. Penny dreadfuls (cheap, sensationalist novels), theatre productions and gothic melodramas all became obsessed with the spirit world.

More than any other medium however, the 19th and early 20th century was the golden age of the ghost story as writers such as MR James and Charles Dickens created some of the most bloodcurdling tales of terror the world had yet seen. Between them, these two authors would bring something new to the ghost story and help cement the form as a Christmas tradition. James had a yuletide habit of reading his tales to his students at Cambridge, while Dickens published *A Christmas Carol*, perhaps the most famous seasonal ghost tale of all. James's stories did not appear in print until 1904, but came to define the burgeoning ghost tale genre.

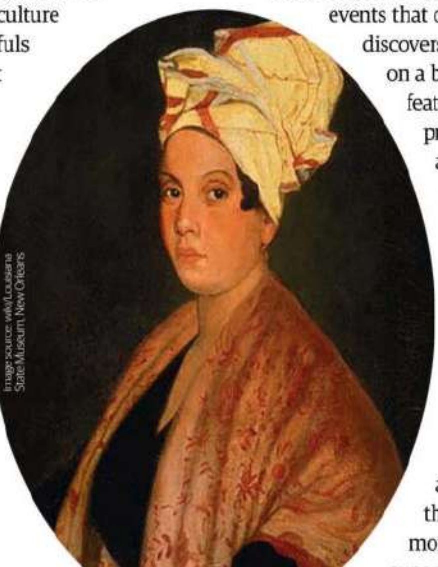


Image source: wiki/Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

ABOVE
Voodoo Queen Marie Laveau

Arguably his most celebrated work is *Oh, Whistle And I'll Come To You, My Lad*, which tells the story of an academic's stay at an isolated seaside resort and the events that occur when he discovers a strange whistle on a beach. Often featuring as their protagonists fussy academics who find themselves facing off against supernatural forces, the stories can be seen as narrative battles between the growing reliance on scepticism and rational thought against more traditional superstitions.

James and Dickens were not alone, however, and other famous authors attempted to get in on the act. Robert Louis Stevenson's 1884 story *The Body Snatcher* draws on the Burke and Hare murders of 1828, in which the two had turned to homicide in order to procure fresh corpses for Dr Robert Knox and his medical students. Featuring a rather nasty supernatural twist in the tale, the story is a perfect example of the combination of the Victorian love for the grim and grisly with the paranormal. Towards the end of the century, even Oscar Wilde got in on the act with *The Canterville Ghost* (1887), an amusing pastiche in which the ghost is the one who is haunted.

Among numerous key figures within the spiritualist movement, one of the most interesting was newspaper editor WT Stead. To this day, Stead remains controversial for his article series such as *The Maiden Tribute Of Modern Babylon*, which created a state of moral panic and was instrumental in the creation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885. As the articles dealt primarily with child prostitution, Stead used unlawful methods of investigative journalism to procure his information and spent three months in prison as a result. Through his radical journalistic style of involving his personal opinions he was able to influence contemporary society and politics.

In the 1890s Stead developed a strong interest in spiritualism and founded the quarterly journal *Borderland* in 1893. Running until 1897, the magazine was targeted towards the general public as opposed to members of the Society For Psychical Research or other individuals

Image source: wiki/William Hope

Image source: wiki/Édouard Isidore Buguet with a vested interest in the topic. Perhaps one of his most inventive decisions was to employ one Ada Goodrich Freer as his assistant editor, who wrote primarily under the pseudonym Miss X.

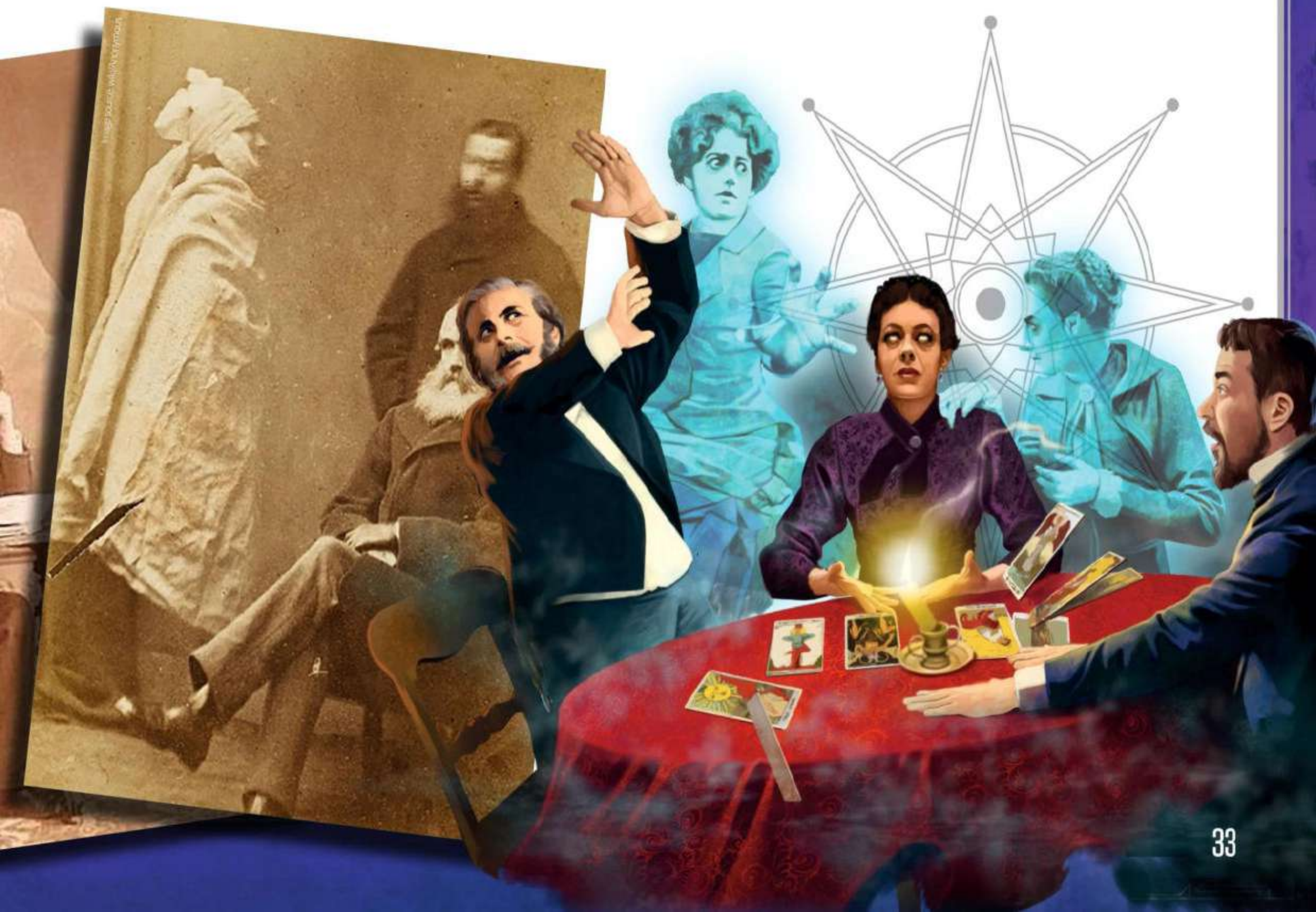
A medium, clairvoyant and psychical researcher, Freer was member of the Society For Psychical Research and became acquainted with John Crichton-Stuart, the Third Marquess of Bute, a devoted spiritualist who organised several investigations into the topic throughout his lifetime. One of the more famous involved Freer in an attempt to discover the causes of reputed hauntings at Ballechin House, a Georgian estate in Perthshire, Scotland, which had been owned by Major Robert Steuart in the mid-19th century. Steuart had returned to the house in the 1850s after serving in the Indian Army, during which time he'd developed a strong belief in reincarnation as well as a somewhat intense admiration for man's canine companions. On several occasions he was reputed to have said that after he died he would return in the form of a dog.

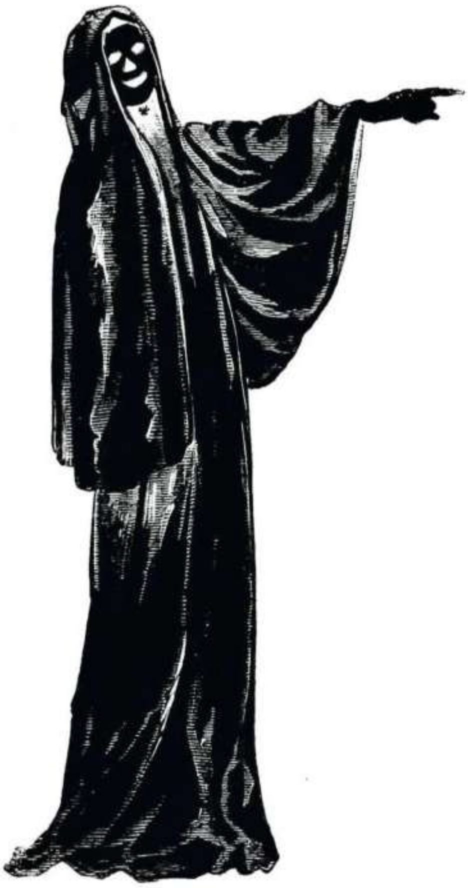
Following Steuart's death, his young nephew inherited Ballechin House and, obviously fearing the major's four-legged return, promptly executed the all dogs on the estate with a rifle. As a result of this the major, his spirit having been denied its furry body, began haunting the halls of Ballechin. Enter Freer, who stayed in the house between February and April of 1897. During her stay she would regularly read aloud from the *Office Of The Dead* (a prayer cycle for long-dead souls) and strange sounds were recorded. Her findings were then printed and published in *The Alleged Haunting of B-- House*, which stated it's intention as "not for the establishment of theories but for the record of fact". However, public interest in this investigation was highly critical and a June 1897 issue of *The Times* newspaper included a particularly harsh assessment of the events. In particular, Freer was targeted and, rather than standing by one of their own, the Society For Psychical Research quickly disowned the clairvoyant and discredited all findings of the investigation. Freer's relationship with the society never fully recovered and she fled first to Jerusalem and then America before fading into obscurity.

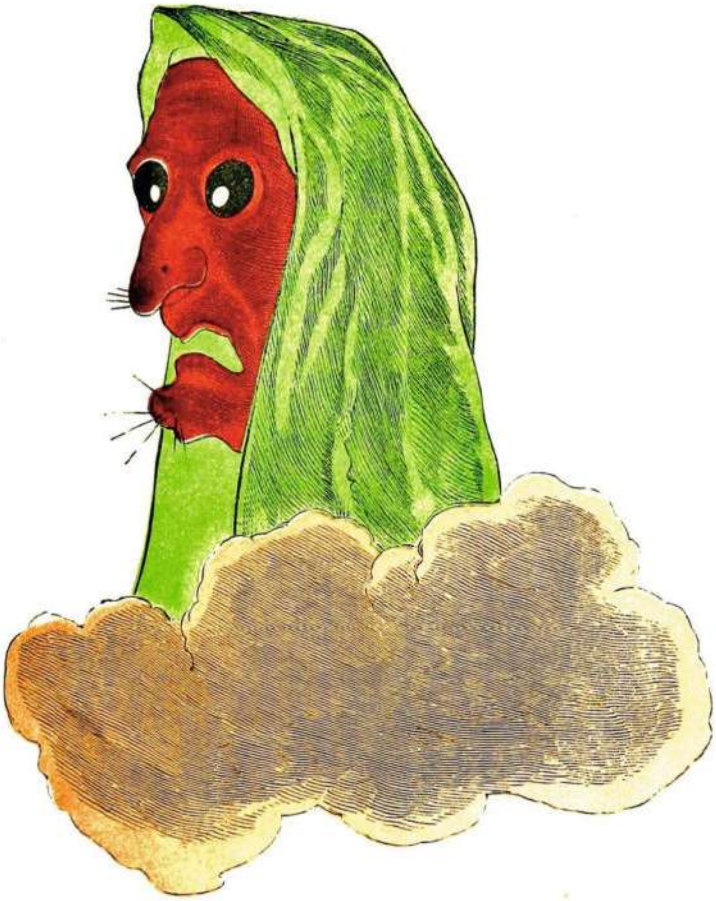
"As the public interest in phantoms and spooks grew, penny dreadfuls, theatre productions and gothic melodramas all became obsessed with the spirit world"

As the decades wore on, interest in the spiritual and supernatural never really went away. It would be easy to assume that the public fascination in spiritualism and the occult faded due to World War I as the mechanised horror of that conflict caused people to doubt their beliefs, but that would not be true. If anything, while popular interest began to wane in the years prior to the war, the conflict caused another boom in interest as people sought to commune with those they had lost. Physicist Oliver Lodge, who had long been a member of The Ghost Club, published *Raymond* in 1916, which told of ▶

BELOW Seances and photos depicting 'spirits' were popular with the Victorians







Images source: wiki/ Archive

ABOVE Illustrations from 1864's *Spectropia*, designed to use optical illusion to debunk spiritualism. Stare at the small asterisk in each for 25 seconds, then look at a white wall...

his communication with his son Raymond, who had been killed at Ypres in 1915. The book was incredibly popular and inspired others to attempt to commune with loved ones they'd lost during the war.

Even over successive decades, interest in the spiritual and supernatural never quite went away. In the 1920s and 1930s, interest in occult philosophy overtook more spiritualist leanings and the works of Dennis Wheatley and Aleister Crowley captured the public imagination. Since then, interest in the supernatural has remained strong. The next boom occurred during the 1960s and fed into the 1970s as the Age of Aquarius's darker side saw the rise of Anton LeVay's counterculture group the Church of Satan and an obsession with all things dark and devilish.

"Just like the spirits that so obsessed them, the Victorians' fascination with the spiritual continues to haunt us"

"Spiritualism and the supernatural presents an age far away from ours, the Victorian age," says Natale. "You certainly see a decline in popular spiritualism since the beginning of the 20th century but this doesn't mean there was a decline in belief. Mysticism became more and more important in the 20th century and, of course, we had the New Age movement. So these beliefs don't fade away but they develop. We still have a lot of TV programmes where we can see supernatural events presented for an audience, for example *Most Haunted*, which uses the conventions of a documentary to explore haunted houses but from the perspective that it might be true. There is an underlying fascination with the supernatural and with spirits that was popularised in the 19th century."

The 19th century and the supernatural are closely linked within the public consciousness. Gothic horror films continue to use the Victorian manor house and the smog-filled streets of London for inspiration. Authors still evoke the atmosphere and style of writers such as MR James, with Susan Hill's 1983 novel *The Woman In Black* being a particularly strong example of the modern Victorian ghost story. And, of course, *A Christmas Carol* remains a popular yuletide fixture, with 2019 seeing a new BBC adaptation. Just like the spirits that so obsessed them, the Victorians' fascination with the spiritual continues to haunt us. ○

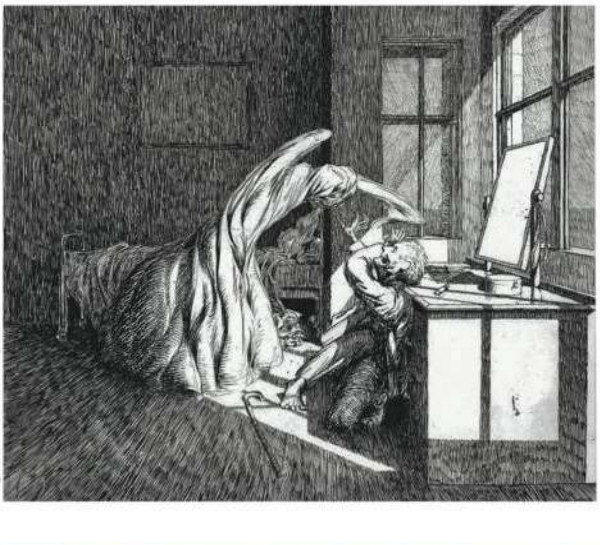
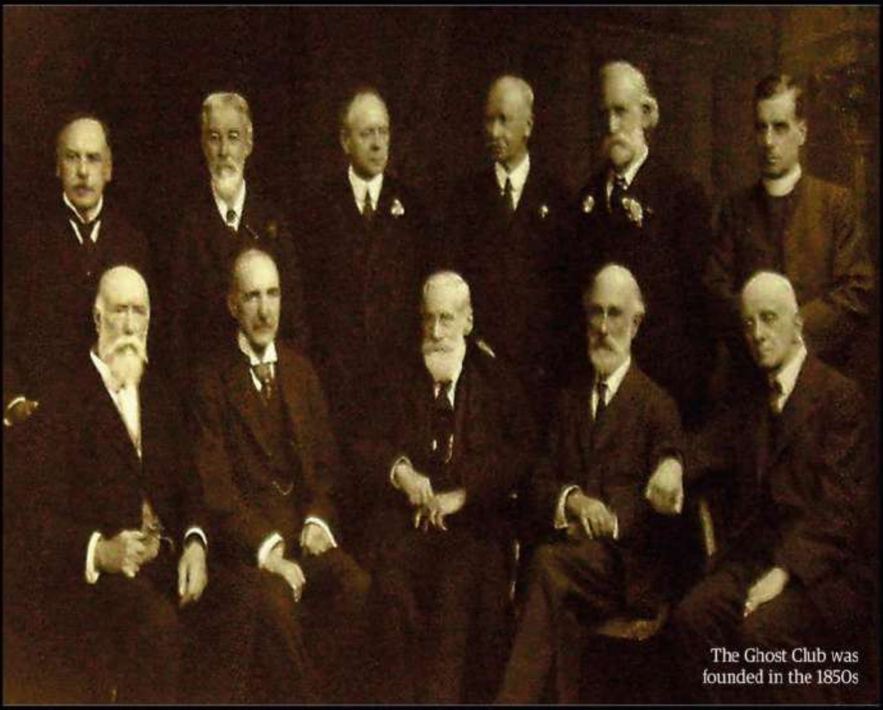


Image source: wiki/James McBryde

BELOW Illustration for MR James's *Oh, Whistle And I'll Come To You, My Lad*

PARANORMAL INVESTIGATORS

We talk to Alan Murdie, chairman of Britain's oldest ghost hunting society, The Ghost Club



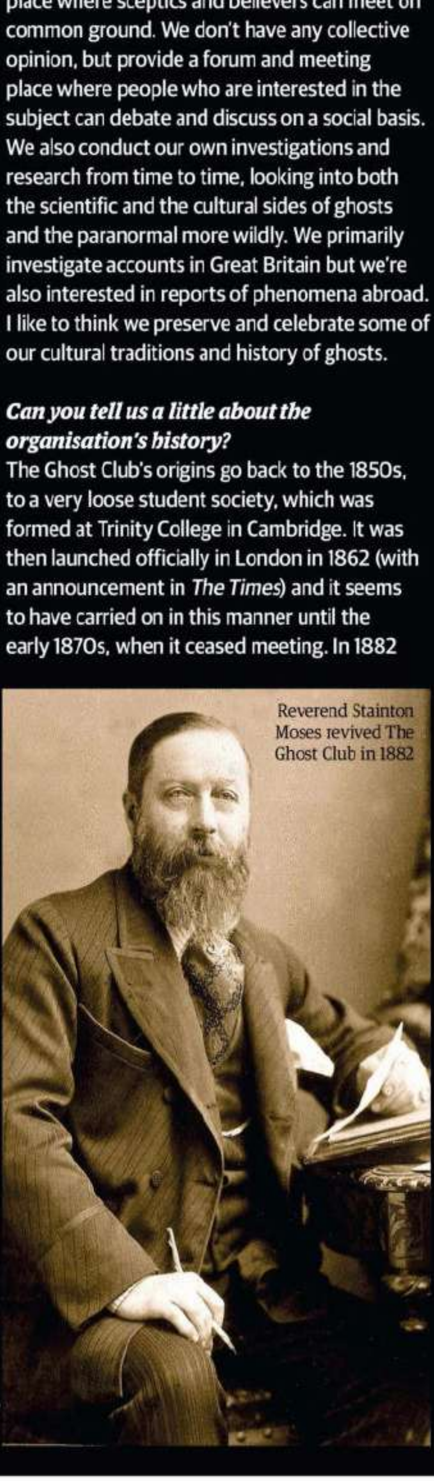
The Ghost Club was founded in the 1850s

What exactly is The Ghost Club and what is its mission?

The Ghost Club is essentially a private body of friends and members who are particularly interested in ghosts and the paranormal. It's a place where sceptics and believers can meet on common ground. We don't have any collective opinion, but provide a forum and meeting place where people who are interested in the subject can debate and discuss on a social basis. We also conduct our own investigations and research from time to time, looking into both the scientific and the cultural sides of ghosts and the paranormal more wildly. We primarily investigate accounts in Great Britain but we're also interested in reports of phenomena abroad. I like to think we preserve and celebrate some of our cultural traditions and history of ghosts.

Can you tell us a little about the organisation's history?

The Ghost Club's origins go back to the 1850s, to a very loose student society, which was formed at Trinity College in Cambridge. It was then launched officially in London in 1862 (with an announcement in *The Times*) and it seems to have carried on in this manner until the early 1870s, when it ceased meeting. In 1882 it was revived by Reverend Stainton Moses, a forgotten 19th century figure who combined life as a Church Of England clergyman with being a remarkable medium. The Ghost Club at this stage was a much smaller and more private body, attracting people such as Sir William Crookes and WB Yeats. They would meet every so often in London to privately discuss the latest in ghosts, but were perhaps more occult-orientated. They researched traditions and referred to each other as Brother Ghost. It continued in this manner until the 1930s, and by this time the club had begun to attract a number of significant younger researchers, such as Harry Price. Price would later become world famous for investigating Borley Rectory, a case that he worked on for 20 years and that people are still arguing about to this day. In 1938 Price then relaunched the club as a kind of society dining circle that met regularly during World War II. After Price's death in 1948, The Ghost Club suspended itself for four years until 1952, when Phillip Pool (a Fleet Street journalist) once again revived the club. That club has carried on, more or less, ever since. During the last 60-odd years The Ghost Club has typically involved investigations into allegedly haunted houses and talks by a wide range of speakers on all kinds of fascinating topics from all points of view.



Reverend Stainton Moses revived The Ghost Club in 1882

2 x images source: The Ghost Club

What kind of investigations does The Ghost Club undertake?

We've conducted investigations around the country, in numerous settings, although there is one interesting exception: graveyards – we don't get many accounts of haunted graveyards these days. We have, however, looked into reports of phenomena in all kinds of domestic, public and historic buildings. These investigations are quite contrary to the sort of thing that gets televised. My predecessor Tom Perrott, who was chairman for 29 years, stated that the only equipment he took on most cases was a notebook, a pencil and a sympathetic ear. Not everything that people may think of as being paranormal is necessarily so. We had an investigation in the 1990s at the House Of Detention, which is a historic prison-turned-museum in Clerkenwell in central London, we've been into the undercroft of Battle Abbey, and then of course there's been callouts from private dwellings and houses. I've had one or two experiences during investigations, mostly involving noises or object movement that I can't explain. A number of our members do investigate things on their own account as well as with The Ghost Club, but we don't have any ghost-detecting devices. We would have solved problems in science, philosophy and theology if we did!

A Martyr for Philosophy

One of the greatest thinkers of ancient Alexandria, Hypatia was caught up in the deadly conflict that engulfed her city

Written by Jessica Leggett

Hypatia of Alexandria was a Neoplatonist philosopher, astronomer and mathematician who is hailed as the first female mathematician whose life is reasonably well-recorded. She was beloved by the people of Alexandria and she advised and taught the city's elite, earning a reputation unheard of for women at the time. Yet this popular and intelligent philosopher would lose her life at the hands of a bloodthirsty mob, and her horrific death has continued to fascinate the world ever since.

It has been estimated that Hypatia was born around 350-370 CE (although recent scholars have typically settled on the year 355 CE) in Alexandria, Egypt, in the Eastern Roman Empire. While we do not know who Hypatia's mother was, we know that her father was Theon of Alexandria, an accomplished mathematician and astronomer who was the last attested member of the Alexandrian Museum.

Theon gave his daughter an education that was usually reserved for sons, teaching Hypatia all about philosophy, mathematics and astronomy – in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Greek historian Philostorgius said that Hypatia "was so well educated in mathematics by her father that she far surpassed her teacher, and especially in astronomy".

Considering this, it's hardly a surprise that Hypatia rose to become the city's foremost scholar, delivering lectures in both her home and in public lecture halls, with listeners travelling from all over the eastern Mediterranean to hear her speak. Like Theon, Hypatia was a Neoplatonist who drew from the teachings of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus. According to the philosopher Damascius, Hypatia would wear a scholar's cloak (traditionally worn by men) and stop in the middle of the street to explain about philosophers to anyone who asked her.

Thanks to Socrates, who wrote about Hypatia in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, we also know that she held political influence and frequently addressed assemblies of men who sought her guidance. Writing around 25 years after her death, sometime between 439-450 CE, Socrates states "she not infrequently appeared in public in the presence of the magistrates, without ever losing… that dignified modesty of deportment for which she was conspicuous, and which gained for her universal respect and admiration".

Even though Hypatia was frequently in the company of men, she never married and likely remained celibate, choosing to dedicate herself to her studies. When one of her students became enamoured with her and refused to be dissuaded, Hypatia resorted to throwing her menstrual rags at him, supposedly declaring, "This is what you love, young man, and it isn't beautiful."

Hypatia also collaborated with her father and provided a commentary on the third book of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, in which Theon wrote the following inscription: "The edition having been prepared by the philosopher, my daughter Hypatia." (Although what she did specifically remains unknown.) According ▶

ABOVE An example of an astrolabe from the 11th century

RIGHT Hypatia was a philosopher, astronomer and mathematician

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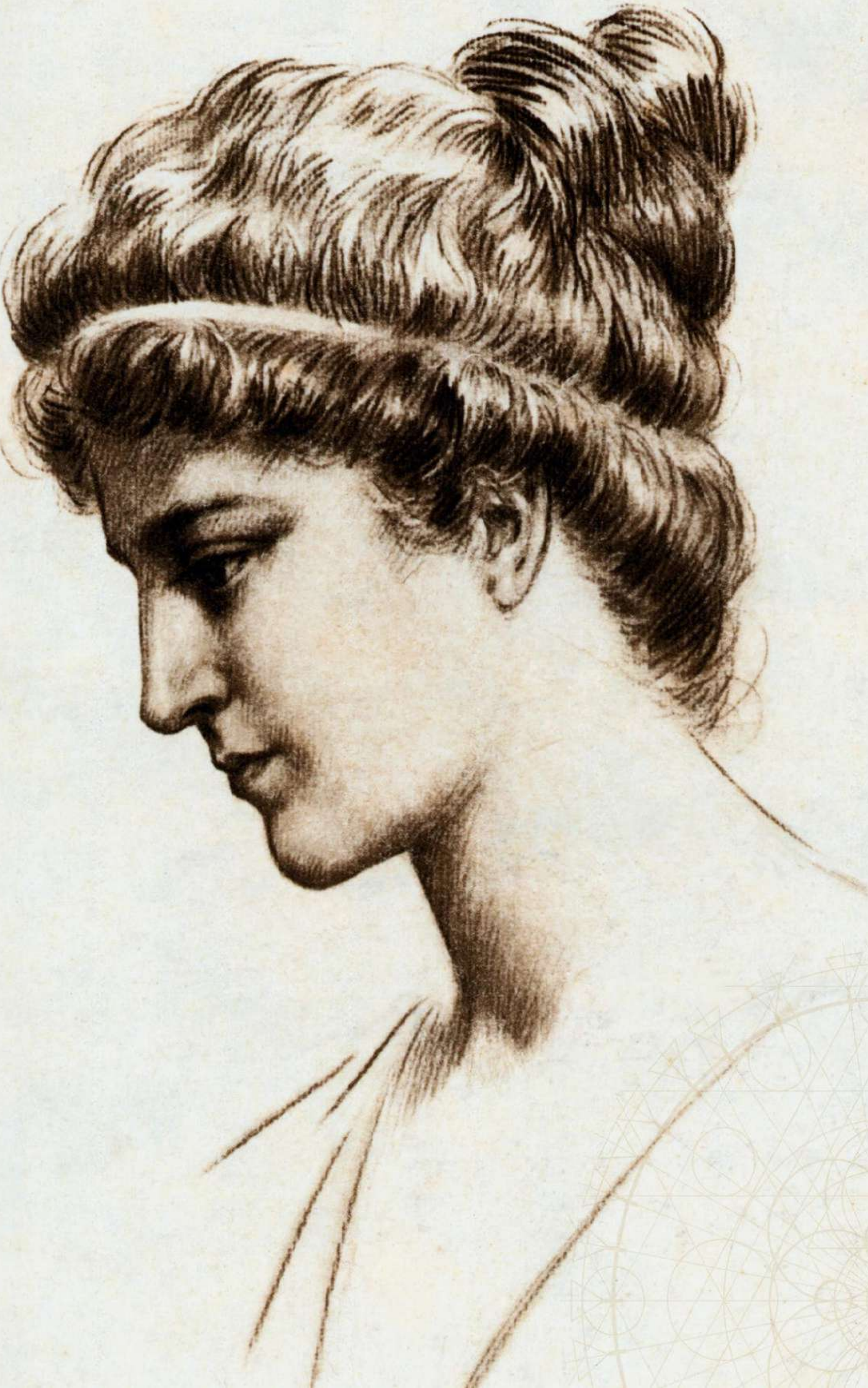
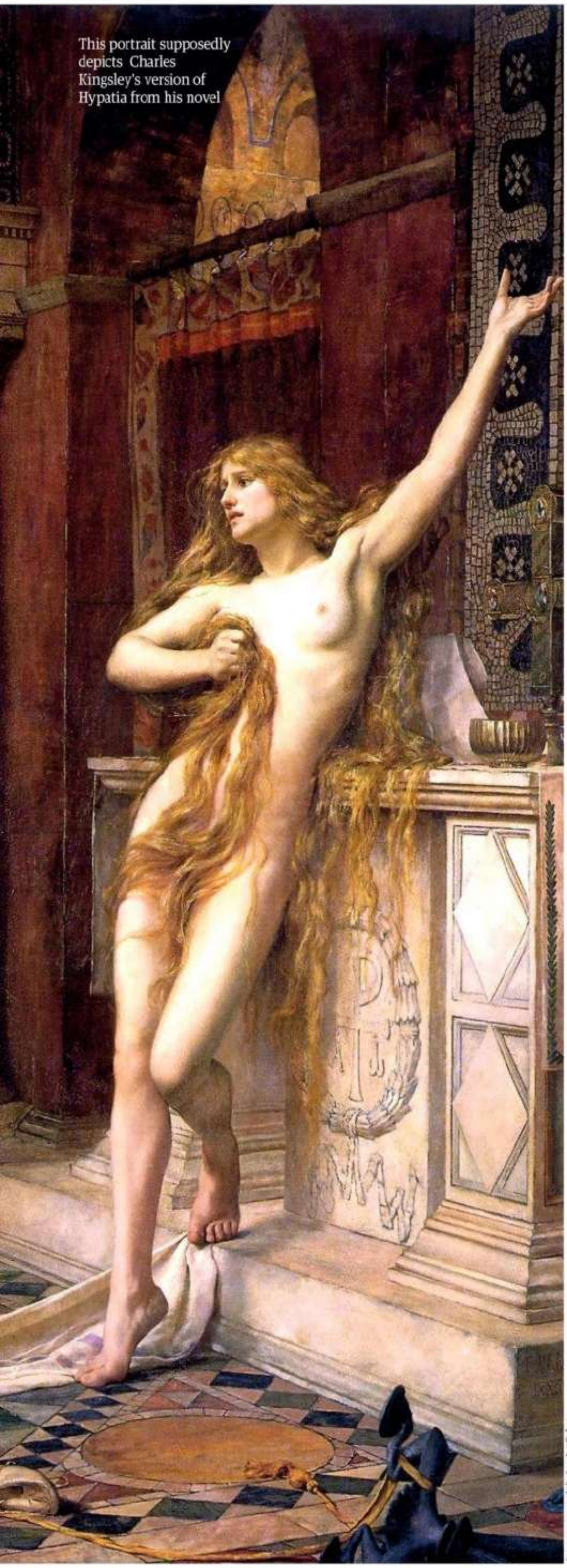




This portrait supposedly depicts Charles Kingsley's version of Hypatia from his novel

Image source: wiki/Laing Art Gallery

to the *Suda Lexicon*, a 10th-century Byzantine encyclopedia, she also wrote commentaries on Diophantus' *Arithmetica*, the *Astronomical Canon* and on the *Conics* of Apollonius.

Sadly, none of Hypatia's own writings have survived and we cannot be sure which contributions to mathematics or astronomy were definitely hers, but recent research has suggested that extant versions of these works possibly reflect the commentaries she made. However, the accounts of her life and work that we do have, written by her students and contemporaries, all highlight just how widely respected she was in Alexandria. Her most famous and faithful student was Synesius of Cyrene, the future bishop of Ptolemais, who described his tutor as "the legitimate mistress of the mysteries of philosophy".

In fact, it is thanks to Synesius' surviving letters that we have some insight into Hypatia and her teachings. His letters prove that he was well-versed in the works of Plato and Aristotle, evidently because he learnt about them from Hypatia, but unfortunately he pays more attention to Hypatia's philosophy than her mathematical contributions.

However, we have learnt from Synesius that he asked her to build a hydroscope, a device that allows you to see objects below the water surface, and he also sought her contribution for an astrolabe, a two-dimensional model of the celestial sphere that he sent as a gift to an official named Paeonius. It's not specified what Hypatia did but it has been assumed that she at least helped to refine or improve these scientific instruments.

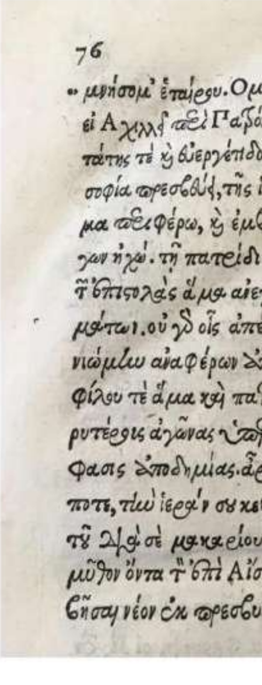
The letters have also shed light on Hypatia and her religious tolerance because although she was a pagan, she's known to have taught Christian and Jewish students. Born into a pagan family, Synesius eventually converted to Christianity but remained close with Hypatia, to the point where he describes her as his "mother, sister, teacher, and withal benefactress" in one of his letters. As a result, it is often assumed that Hypatia fostered an accepting and open learning environment.

Hypatia's ability to carve out a space of openness was even more remarkable considering the political and religious turmoil that engulfed Alexandria at the time. In 313 CE Roman emperor Constantine the Great named Christianity as the new official state religion, and consequently tensions between pagans and Christians in the city increased, with progressively violent riots taking place by Hypatia's lifetime.

Despite being a pagan, Hypatia had been relatively safe while Theophilus was the archbishop of Alexandria, even though he disliked pagans and suppressed their practices. A pagan riot against Theophilus led to the Serapeum, a pagan temple, being destroyed in 391 CE and the subsequent destruction of all pagan imagery. Nevertheless, he understood that Hypatia was popular and so he tolerated her and her teachings, which never openly clashed with Christianity, a testament to her reputation as a respected figure of the city.

However, this safety net was ripped away when Theophilus died in 412 CE and he was succeeded by his nephew, Cyril, who envied Hypatia's popularity and influence. As the new archbishop, Cyril wasted no time in asserting his newly inherited power, commanding his militia of Christian monks to destroy pagan temples and harass the Novatians (a Christian sect) and the Jewish population, eventually leading to their expulsion

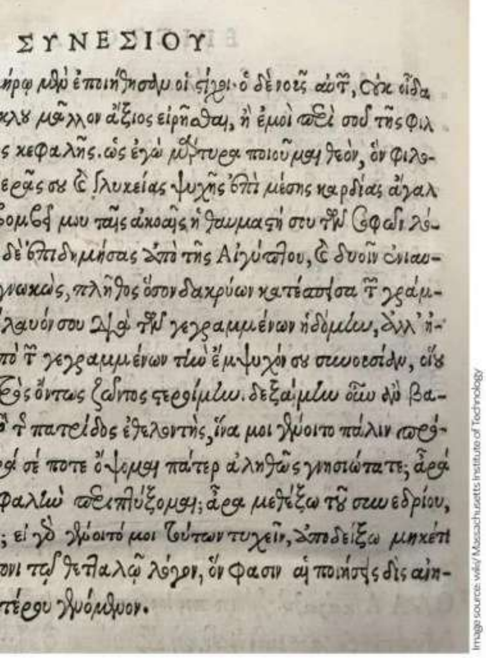
> *"Hypatia rose to become Alexandria's foremost scholar, delivering lectures in both her home and in public lecture halls"*



RIGHT A page from one of Synesius' letters to Hypatia

FAR-RIGHT The Great Library in Alexandria was the centre of Hellenism

BELOW A drawing of Theophilus standing atop of the Serapeum from the *Alexandrian World Chronicle*



ΣΥΝΕΣΙΟΥ

Image source: wiki/ Massachusetts Institute of Technology

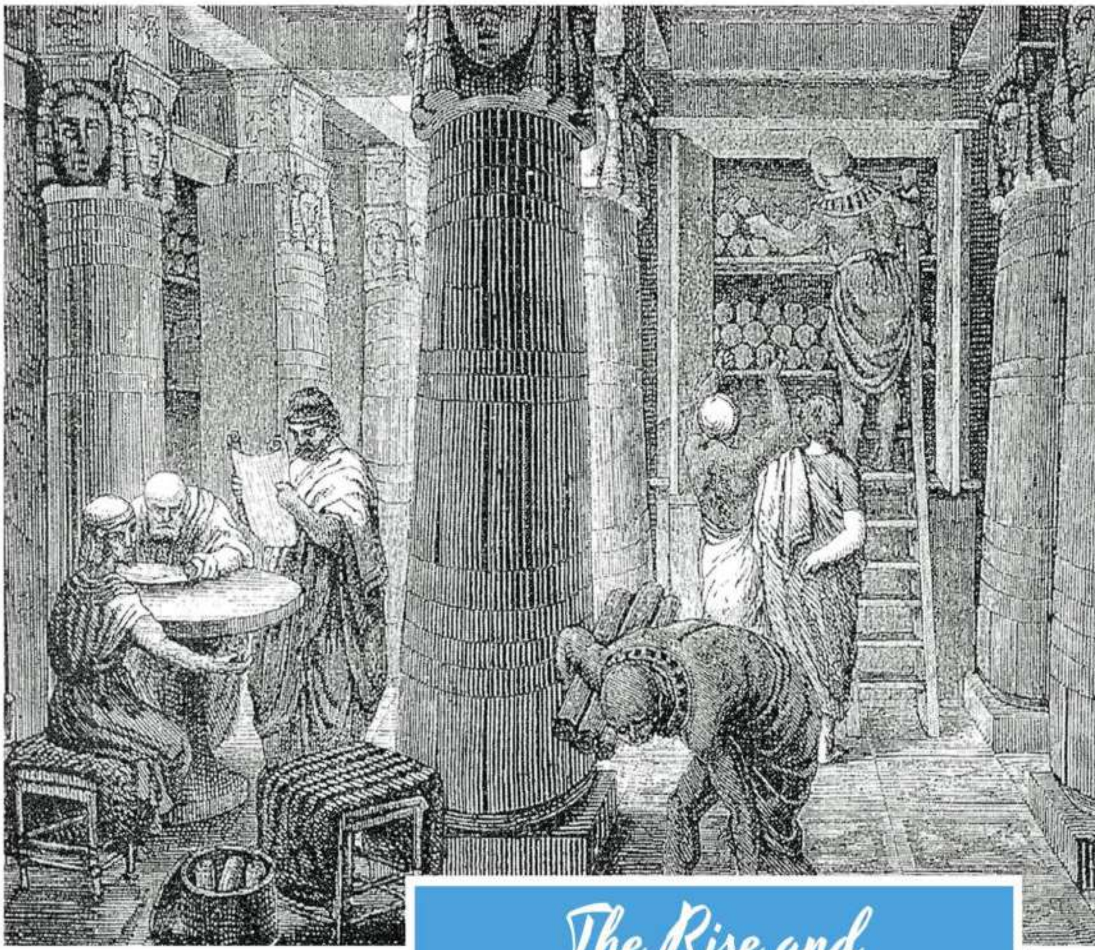


Image source: wiki/ Oak Knoll Press

from the city. In doing so, Cyril angered Orestes, the Roman prefect of Alexandria, who believed that the archbishop was encroaching on his civil authority.

Orestes was friends with Hypatia and he sought her counsel as his political feud with Cyril worsened. Nevertheless, the situation quickly took a turn for the worst when hundreds of zealous monks from Nitria, loyal to Cyril, arrived in Alexandria and started a riot. They confronted Orestes, who was driving in his chariot, throwing stones at him and accusing him of being a pagan, despite his protestations that he was a Christian and had been baptised by the bishop of Constantinople himself.

During the assault, a monk named Ammonius managed to strike Orestes on the head, leaving the prefect covered in blood. He was soon rescued from the attack and as punishment Orestes had Ammonius tortured and put to death, enraging the monks. In response, Cyril had Ammonius' body lie in state, honouring him as a Christian martyr.

Soon enough, rumours began to circulate that Hypatia was preventing the two men from reconciling and the monks accused her of using witchcraft to turn Orestes against Christianity. In March 415 CE, Hypatia was travelling through the city on her way home when her carriage was attacked by a Christian mob led by Peter the Lector. She was dragged into a nearby church, stripped of her clothing and beaten to death, before her body was dismembered - either with roof tiles or oyster shells - and then burnt.

Renowned for her wisdom and her efforts to better the lives of those in Alexandria, Hypatia's brutal murder sent shock waves across the empire and instantly transformed her into a martyr for philosophy. Even so, there is no evidence to suggest that there was ever any retribution for her death and it appears that Orestes left the city soon afterwards. As for Cyril, he continued to suppress and destroy the remnants of paganism in ▶

Image source: wiki/daten.digitale-sammlungen.de

The Rise and Fall of Alexandria

What happened to one of the most renowned intellectual havens in history?

Founded in c.331 BCE by Alexander the Great, the city of Alexandria in northern Egypt was home to some of the intellectual centres of the ancient world. It was well known for its famous Great Library, which was built in c.295 BCE to collect all of the world's knowledge under one roof. The Great Library was filled with tens of thousands - possibly hundreds of thousands - of scrolls and attracted scholars from far and wide, becoming a centre of Hellenism.

However, in 48 BCE, Julius Caesar laid siege to the city and set its harbour fleet on fire, the flames spreading and destroying at least part of the Great Library. We know that some of the Library's collection was also held at a library at the Serapeum, but this was torn down in 391 CE. As for the city itself, Alexandria was home to Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and Jews and it could be a volatile place to live, with tensions running high and violent riots often erupting.

In the wake of Hypatia's tragic murder, many philosophers of the Greek and Roman traditions fled to Athens, while many future Neoplatonists became even more critical of Christianity. Her death is often cited as the turning point for when Alexandria's status as a city of learning began to decline, but it's worth noting that Alexandrian philosophical tradition did continue, for example with philosophers such as Hierocles of Alexandria and Olympiodorus the Younger.

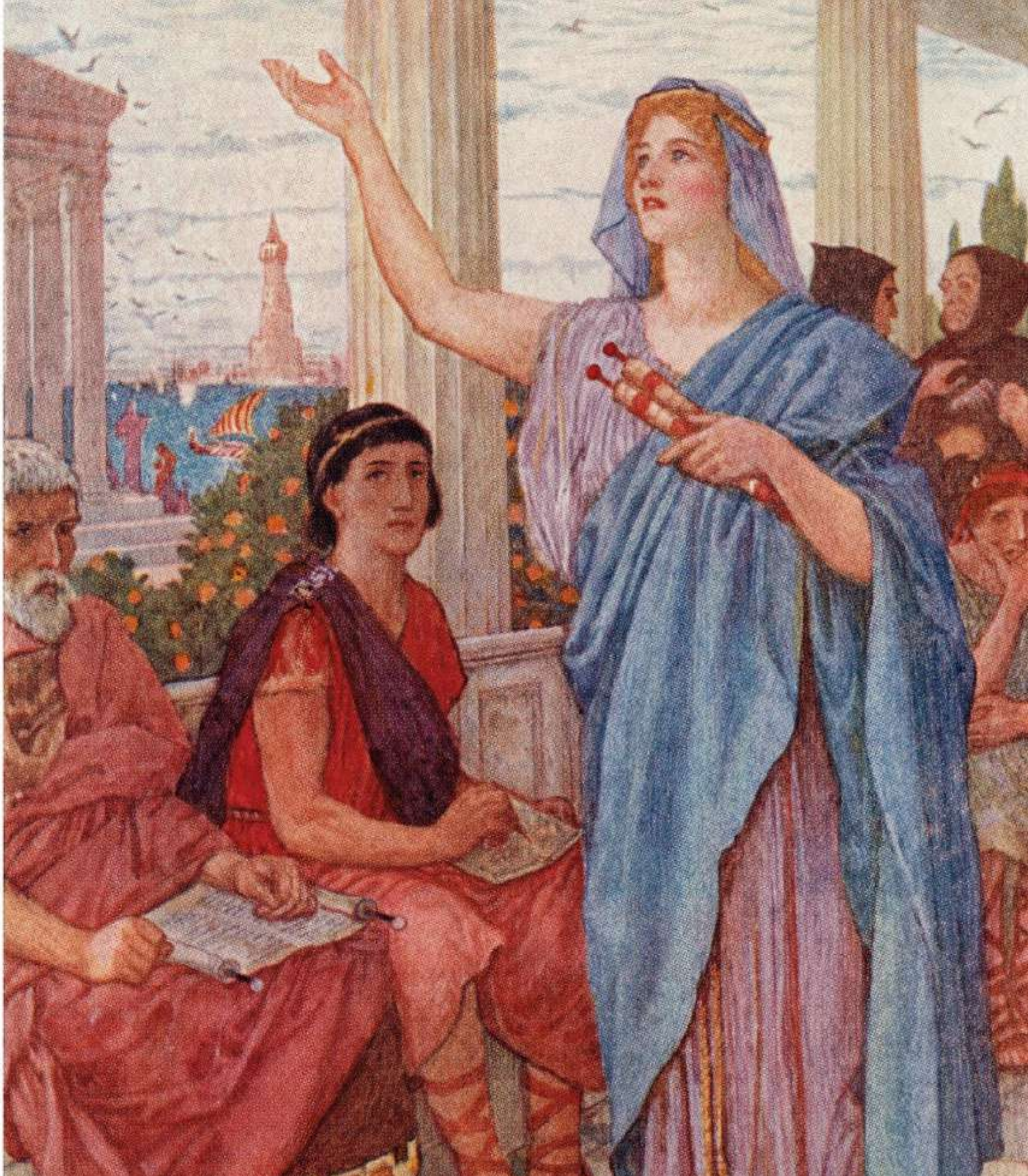
Alexandria, and for his efforts he was later named a saint by the church.

Nevertheless, the blame for Hypatia's death has often been placed squarely at Cyril's feet by her nearest contemporaries. In his *Life Of Isidore* – which has been reproduced in the *Suda Lexicon* – Damascius portrayed Cyril as jealous of Hypatia, claiming that "he was so struck with envy that he immediately began plotting her murder, and the most heinous form of murder at that". For Damascius, Hypatia's death had ultimately turned her into a martyr for Hellenism (the term for ancient Greek culture).

Likewise, in his aforementioned *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Socrates discusses the growing mob violence and volatile atmosphere in Alexandria, inflamed by the rift between Cyril and Orestes, claiming that Hypatia "fell a victim to the political jealousy which at that time prevailed". The extent of Cyril's involvement with Hypatia's killing, or whether he was involved at all, still remains unclear to this day but regardless, Socrates commented that "an act so inhuman could not fail to bring the greatest opprobrium, not only upon Cyril, but also upon the whole Alexandrian church".

Then again, not everybody blamed Cyril for Hypatia's gruesome death. John, Bishop of Nikiu in Lower Egypt, attempted to divert the negativity that surrounded Cyril by depicting Hypatia as a pagan philosopher who used occult practices. He stated that Hypatia "was devoted at all times to magic, astrolabes and instruments of music, and she beguiled many people through her Satanic wiles. And the governor of the city honoured her exceedingly, for she had beguiled him through her magic".

Astonishingly, John continues his defence of the archbishop with a bold statement declaring that with Hypatia's death, Cyril "had destroyed the last remains of idolatry in the city".



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The Power of Knowledge

Taking a look at those who influenced Hypatia and those she inspired

Image sources:
wiki/ CaptolineMuseums
wiki/ Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps
wiki/ Ostiense museum, Ostia Antica

Plato
c.428-c.348 BCE

Plato was an Athenian philosopher whose theory of Forms, the belief that the physical world is just a shadow of a pure, spiritual world (the realm of Forms), influenced Hypatia's Neoplatonism. He produced numerous works including *The Republic* and also founded a school of philosophy, the Academy.

Aristotle
385-323 BCE

A student of Plato and a tutor and advisor to Alexander the Great, Aristotle is widely considered to be one of the greatest philosophers in history. He contributed to various fields including metaphysics, politics, logic and ethics, and Hypatia delivered many lectures on his teachings, often in the city centre.

> "The blame for Hypatia's death has often been placed squarely at the archbishop Cyril's feet by her nearest contemporaries"

As horrific as Hypatia's death was, a question that has often been asked is 'would we know about her if it wasn't for her murder?' With no extant sources from Hypatia herself - we don't even have a contemporary image of her - the details of her life have been heavily disputed and twisted to suit the agendas of others. Therefore, we have instead been left with an idealised image of Hypatia, a woman essentially of legend, rather than the real person that she was.

Even the accounts of Damascius and Socrates, two of the major contemporary sources that we have about Hypatia, fail to do her extraordinary life justice, concentrating instead on her tragic ending. While Damascius focuses on her murder as a means to criticise the church, Socrates only mentions her life briefly, choosing to present her death as the climax of the religious and political struggle in Alexandria.

This utilising of Hypatia and her murder as a symbol for other causes has continued for centuries, notably in the midst of the Enlightenment. At a time when the leading thinkers of the movement were criticising the Catholic Church, Hypatia was transformed into a figure of opposition against Catholicism, a beautiful and wise philosopher who met an untimely death at the hands of fervent Christians.

English historian Edward Gibbon vilified Cyril in his work *The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire*, arguing that "the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril of Alexandria". His contemporary, French writer Voltaire, depicted Hypatia's death as the moment when rational thinking in the ancient world was extinguished as a result of ignorance and religious intolerance at the hands of the clergy.

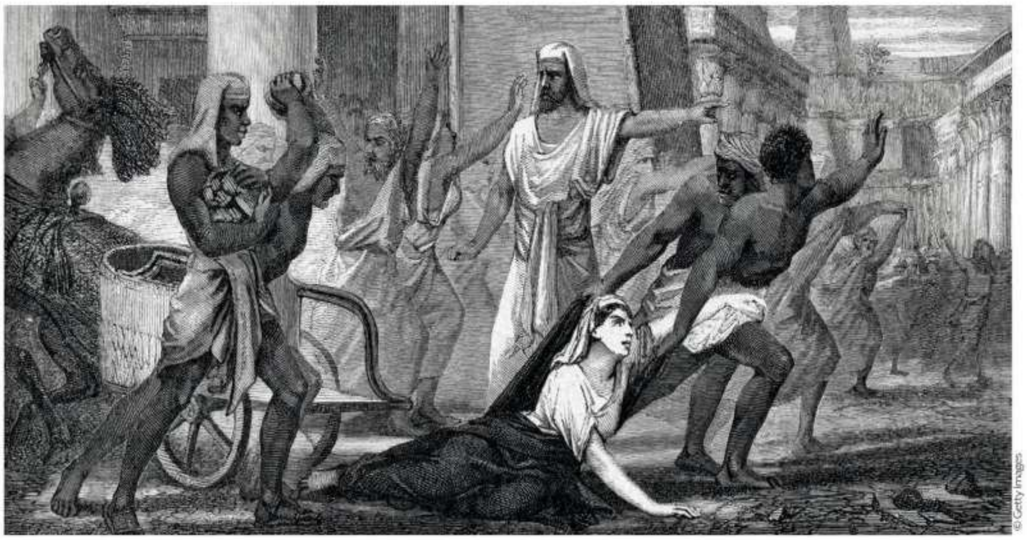
The anti-Catholic rhetoric continued with Charles Kingsley, an English clergyman, historian and novelist. In his romantic novel, *Hypatia Or New Foes With An Old Face*, which was published in 1853, Kingsley depicts Cyril and the church as corrupt, mirroring his views on the Catholic church in his own time while providing a rather erotic version of Hypatia, emphasising her beauty, helplessness and youth - Kingsley's Hypatia is only in her twenties when in reality she was at least in her forties when she died. Her death in the novel comes at the hands of a fanatical and ignorant Christian mob, and for Kingsley it signals the end of Hellenism.

As an intellectual woman who lived in a patriarchal society, from the 20th century onwards Hypatia became an icon for the women's rights movement and a martyr for feminism. She is depicted in various pieces of art, she is the heroine of numerous novels and plays, and the academic journal, *Hypatia: A Journal Of Feminist Philosophy*, was named after her. There's even a lunar crater that bears her name. A biopic of Hypatia's life, *Agora*, starring Rachel Weisz as the philosopher, was released in 2009 but is full of historical inaccuracies, further perpetuating incorrect details about her extraordinary life.

With all these different depictions of Hypatia, it's no wonder that we find it difficult to know who she really was. A lack of reliable evidence has meant that many people, such as Socrates, Gibbon and Kingsley, have spoken for her rather than attempting to offer us the true Hypatia. Her intelligence, reputation and gender not only made Hypatia vulnerable in her own lifetime, but they have also been used to turn her into a martyr for philosophy, paganism, Hellenism, feminism and rational thinking, just to name a few. But she deserves to be more than a symbol and there is one thing that we know for sure - if Cyril did plot her murder then his effort was in vain because Hypatia has completely eclipsed him in history. ○

LEFT Hypatia delivering one of her popular lectures

BELOW She was murdered by a Christian mob



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Synesius of Cyrene
c.373-c.414 CE

Regarded as Hypatia's most famous student, Synesius of Cyrene was consecrated as a bishop by Theophilus in around 410 CE. His letters tell us that many of Hypatia's students went on to hold important roles in Alexandrian society and he wrote to her frequently to consult on many matters of philosophy - in fact, one of the last letters that he ever wrote was addressed to her.

Plotinus
c.204-270 CE

Neoplatonism began with the work of Plotinus and his collection of writings, *The Enneads*, which outlined his three principles: the One, the Intellect and the Soul. Hypatia and her father followed his teachings rather than adhering to those of another Neoplatonist, Syrian philosopher Iamblichus.

Damascius
c.458-c.538

Just like Hypatia, Damascius was a pagan philosopher and a Neoplatonist who spent his early years studying in Alexandria, before he moved to Athens and became the last leader of Plato's Academy. His chief surviving work is *Problems And Solutions About The First Principles*, and while he doesn't appear to have been impacted by Hypatia's teachings, her brutal murder influenced his anti-Christian rhetoric.

From equals to enslaved

Toby Green discusses his Wolfson History Prize-nominated book A Fistful Of Shells and the way in which resource-rich West Africa was depleted by trade and slavery

Written by Jonathan Gordon

It was German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel who once claimed that the continent of Africa was "no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit". This dismissal of the contribution of this entire region to the history of the globe is patently ridiculous, and yet for many the history of this continent is largely a blank space in time.

In his new Wolfson History Prize-nominated book, *A Fistful Of Shells*, Toby Green focuses on the history of West Africa in the same way that so many historians might have previously written about the history of Western Europe. His broad investigation into the economic and social changes that took place from the before the Atlantic slave trade to the age of revolution delves back in time to reveal truths about the rich and diverse nature of events in this region.

As we learn from Green, this particular region of Africa was standing toe-to-toe with Europe as it entered the 16th century.

"I think it's no exaggeration to say that certainly Mali, for example, was richer and better globally connected than most places in Europe at that time," he tells us. Mansa Musa, sultan of the Mali Empire during the 14th century, has been estimated to have been the richest man who ever lived, which goes some way to supporting the notion of West Africa's wealth and status. "The gold that was mined in different parts of West Africa, like the Gold Coast but also Senegambia, was the gold that financed the expansion of coinage in North Africa. The name, for example, of gold coins in Spain in the 16th century, the maravedi, derived from al-Murabitun, which was a gold coin in Western Sahara. So this was the source of gold. Its rulers were, according to some estimates, the richest people who have ever lived, and they were connected to places like China, Iraq and so on, which European states weren't."

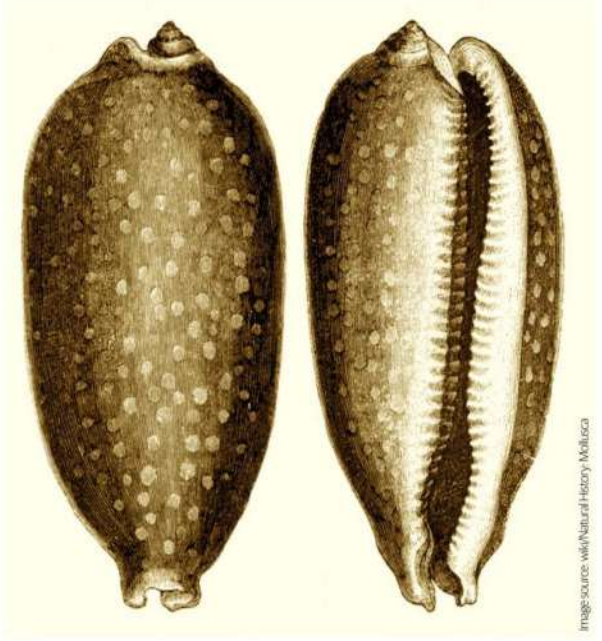
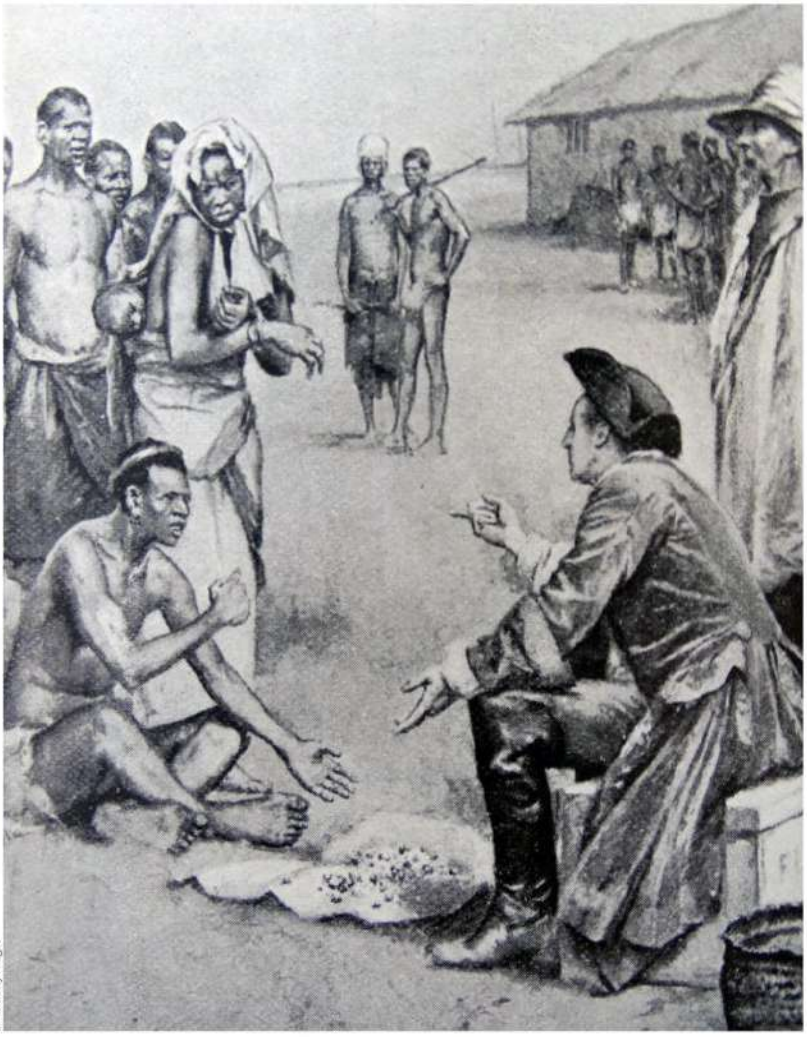


Image source: wiki/Natural History: Mollusca

RIGHT Cowry shells were a popular form of currency in West Africa and across the region, and even as far as China



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BELOW This engraving depicts slaves being sold for cowries

So how did these two massive geographic and economic regions begin to diverge? This is one of the key questions that Green's book investigates. "European trade in Africa starting in the late-15th century has traditionally been depicted in historical writing as Europeans turning up with baubles and getting what they wanted, and it wasn't like that," he says. What they were trading in was currency, which in West Africa in this time took a number of different forms, including cowries, a small shell from which Green's book takes its title. "Cowries were one of the major currencies in West Africa from the 13-14th centuries, right through to the late-19th century and the end of the pre-colonial period," he says. "Cowries were initially brought in through the caravan trade from along the Silk Road and then down across the Sahara." They were also a very practical currency, as Green explains: "They were a useful form of currency because you could assess them by weight, but they were also very small, so you could use them for minor transactions, which you couldn't necessarily do with gold, which is too valuable."

> "The trade was in currencies, and that essentially began to create inflation in African currencies"

This is the first step of the disparity opening up between the continents. "The African markets were also being flooded with new currencies. One of the big differences is that if you bring in currency and there isn't an increase in manufactured goods and trading with it, that tends to lead to inflation. That's what classic ▶

EXPERT BIO

DR TOBY GREEN

Dr Toby Green is a historian who received his PhD from the Centre of West African Studies at Birmingham University. He was the recipient of the British Academy Rising Star Engagement Award in 2015 and is currently senior lecturer in Lusophone African History and Culture at King's College London.

WEST AFRICA BEFORE SLAVERY

The major powers that stood toe-to-toe with Europe

GHANA EMPIRE

Dates: c.500–c.1200

Area at largest known point: 1,600 km²

Thanks in part to the introduction of the camel into the western Sahara, which had enhanced trade routes throughout the region, the Ghana Empire, or more properly known as Wagadou, grew rich from gold and salt and expanded.

MALI EMPIRE

Dates: c.1230–1670

Area at largest known point: 1,294,994 km²

Also known as the Manden Kurufaba, the Mali Empire is most famous for its incredible wealth, but it also played a massive role in shaping the legal, linguistic and cultural landscape of West Africa at the time.

SONGHAI EMPIRE

Dates: c.1000–1592

Area at largest known point: 1,400,000 km²

One of the largest states in African history, the Songhai Empire was born out of the city of Gao and was part of the Mali Empire. However, as that power declined Gao surpassed it, swallowing up much of its territory in the process.

> "Gold coins in Spain in the 16th century, the maravedi, derived from al-Murabitun, which was a gold coin in Western Sahara"

economic theory tells us. That increase of manufactured goods being transported into and out of Europe from China and India was happening in Europe, but it wasn't happening to the same degree in Africa. The trade was in currencies, and that essentially began to create inflation in African currencies."

And then came the transatlantic slave trade, which feeds even more into this cycle. "A lot of this trade and the currencies that were coming in were part of the slave trade. What was happening was that while the value of African currencies was declining, through the process I've just described, the major exports, which were gold and captive human beings, were themselves producing value outside of Africa."

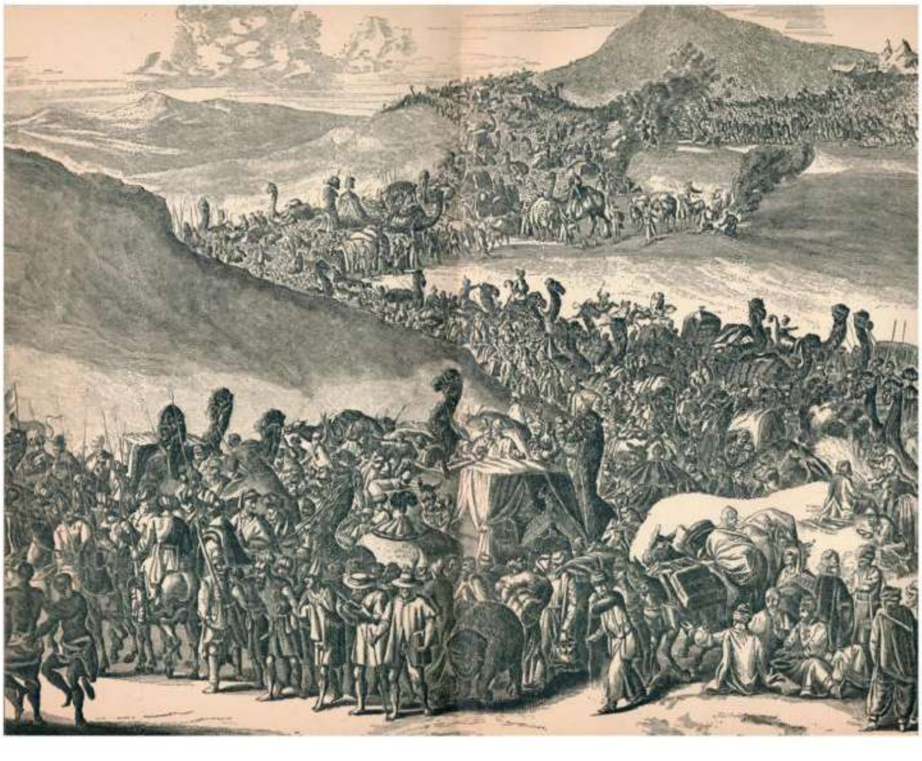
So on the currency side the relative value of gold was rising, giving European traders more spending power, while simultaneously enslaved people were being used as a labour force, generating more value or what economically we would call a surplus. "So while the currencies within Africa were declining in value, its exports were producing value outside of the continent which exacerbated this process," explains Green.

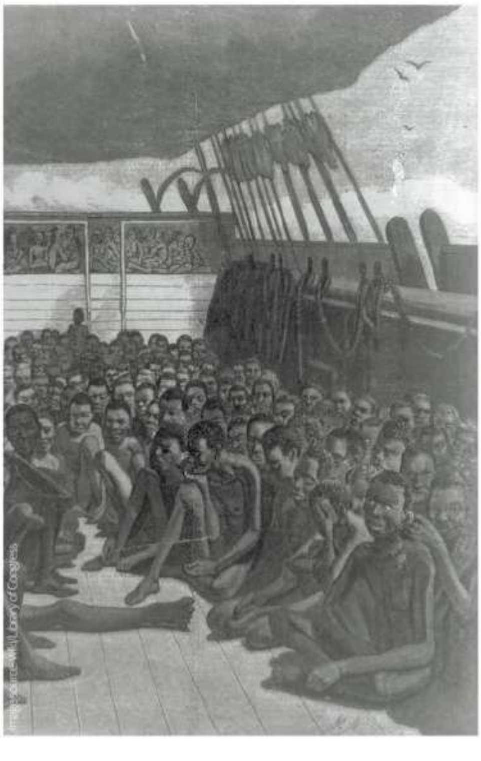
It's easy to see how the cycle of decline might continue from there and it was made even worse by the new element of slavery that the transatlantic trade introduced: that being enslavement could be a heritable state. "Here's where the term or the concept of slavery has led to a lot of confusion because we have one concept that actually covers a huge range of relationships between human beings," says Green. Slavery as it had existed in West Africa previously had been mostly about outsiders to the community being incorporated into society. According to Green: "They might be war captives, they might be migrants, but the key thing was they had no kinship relationships. It was by making kinship relationships over a couple of generations that those people might

BELOW-LEFT A common tale of Mansa Musa was that he was so rich that massive inflation occurred in Cairo as he passed through on his pilgrimage to Mecca

BELOW-RIGHT The suffering of enslaved Africans helped to build up the wealth of Western nations while the former riches of West Africa gradually lost value, creating an ever more vicious cycle

BELOW-OPPOSITE The tomb of Askia the Great, one of the rulers of the Songhai Empire in the late-15th century





Images source: Wiki, Library of Congress

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ABOVE-LEFT
A shrine in Kaba Kangaba, the former capital of the Malinke kingdom that went on to form part of the Mali Empire

ABOVE-RIGHT
Cowries continued to have significance, such as being an important element in Afro-Cuban religion

become incorporated into a community." The trade that enslaved African men and women and forced them to work in the fields and mines of the New World now introduced the concept that the children of these enslaved people would themselves be born into bondage with no clear means of emancipation.

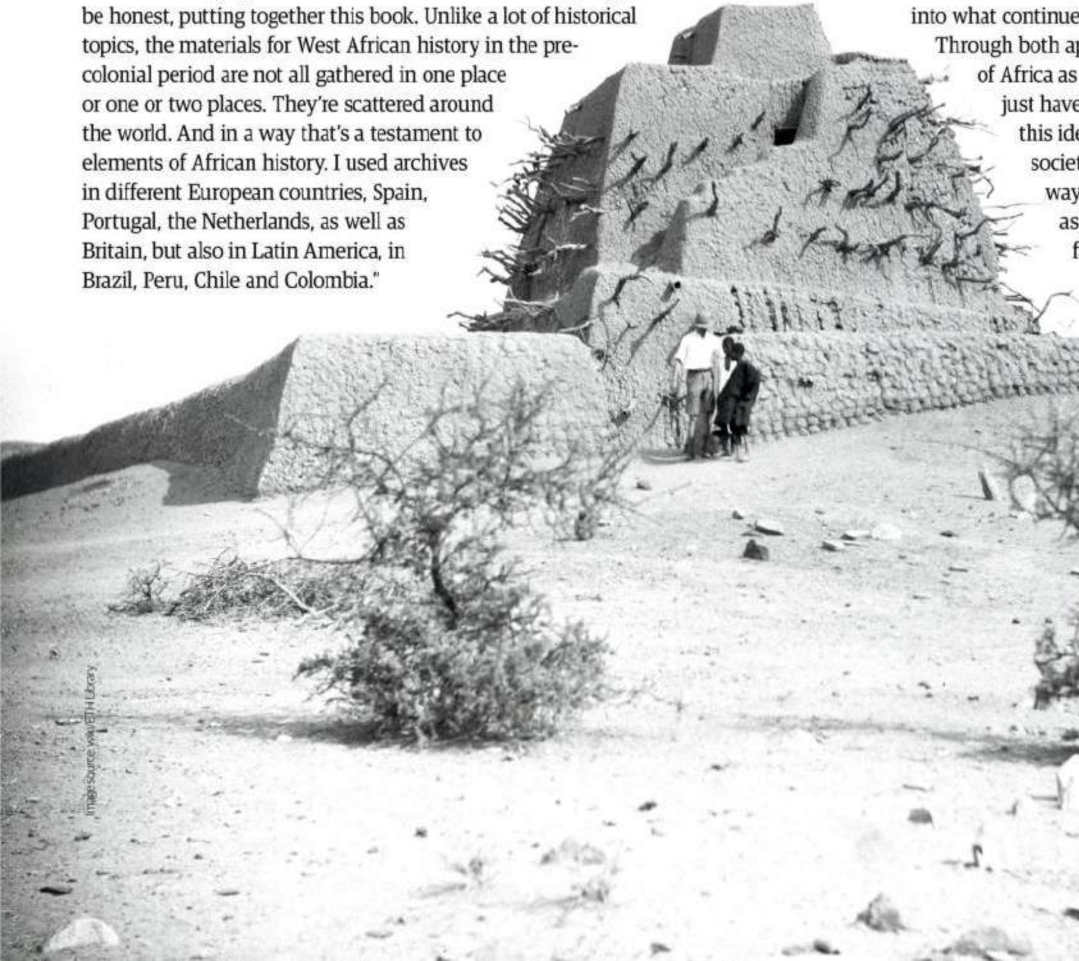
But as Green points out, a singular concentration on slavery can be a disservice to West African history where advancements and human ingenuity continued to be expressed, even if figures like Hegel dismissed them. "One of the chapters of my book points out that the history of Africa is often being studied through the lens of slavery, particularly outside the continent, but that doesn't give much scope to look at the history of art or music and the enormous artistic and musical achievements that took place in the same period of time. So we have to take stock of that."

The journey to bring us these stories and this local history that includes but also goes beyond the transatlantic slave trade proved to be a challenging one for Green. "It was a bit of an odyssey, to be honest, putting together this book. Unlike a lot of historical topics, the materials for West African history in the pre-colonial period are not all gathered in one place or one or two places. They're scattered around the world. And in a way that's a testament to elements of African history. I used archives in different European countries, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, as well as Britain, but also in Latin America, in Brazil, Peru, Chile and Colombia."

But these Western records are only one part of the story. "If you were to just use these written sources, you would come away with the idea that the most important or the only really important issues in African history were slavery, trade and African-European relations," explains Green. "But in West Africa you get a very different view of what matters in history. In fact, a lot of history in most parts of West Africa (not all parts, but most parts) is an oral genre. And in that oral record the Atlantic slave trade appears very little, and if you were to just use those sources you would come away thinking well, the important things in African history are histories of kingship, religion, migration and family relationships. The reality is that all of this is important, but you need both perspectives to try and produce something that reflects the balance of that history."

In this way *A Fistful Of Shells* looks to both tackle the issues of slavery and the triangular trade that gradually stripped West Africa of its enormous wealth and power, as well as look deeper into what continued to happen in the region after the trade.

Through both approaches we can begin to debunk the notion of Africa as a continent without any history. "I think you just have to look at any chapter of the book to have this idea overturned, because it's clear that African societies transform themselves in many different ways," explains Green. "Once you look at any aspect of this in detail, you see how completely false that view is, but also how insidious it actually is." O



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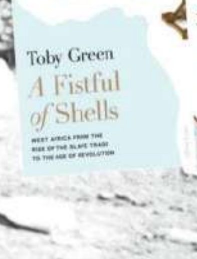
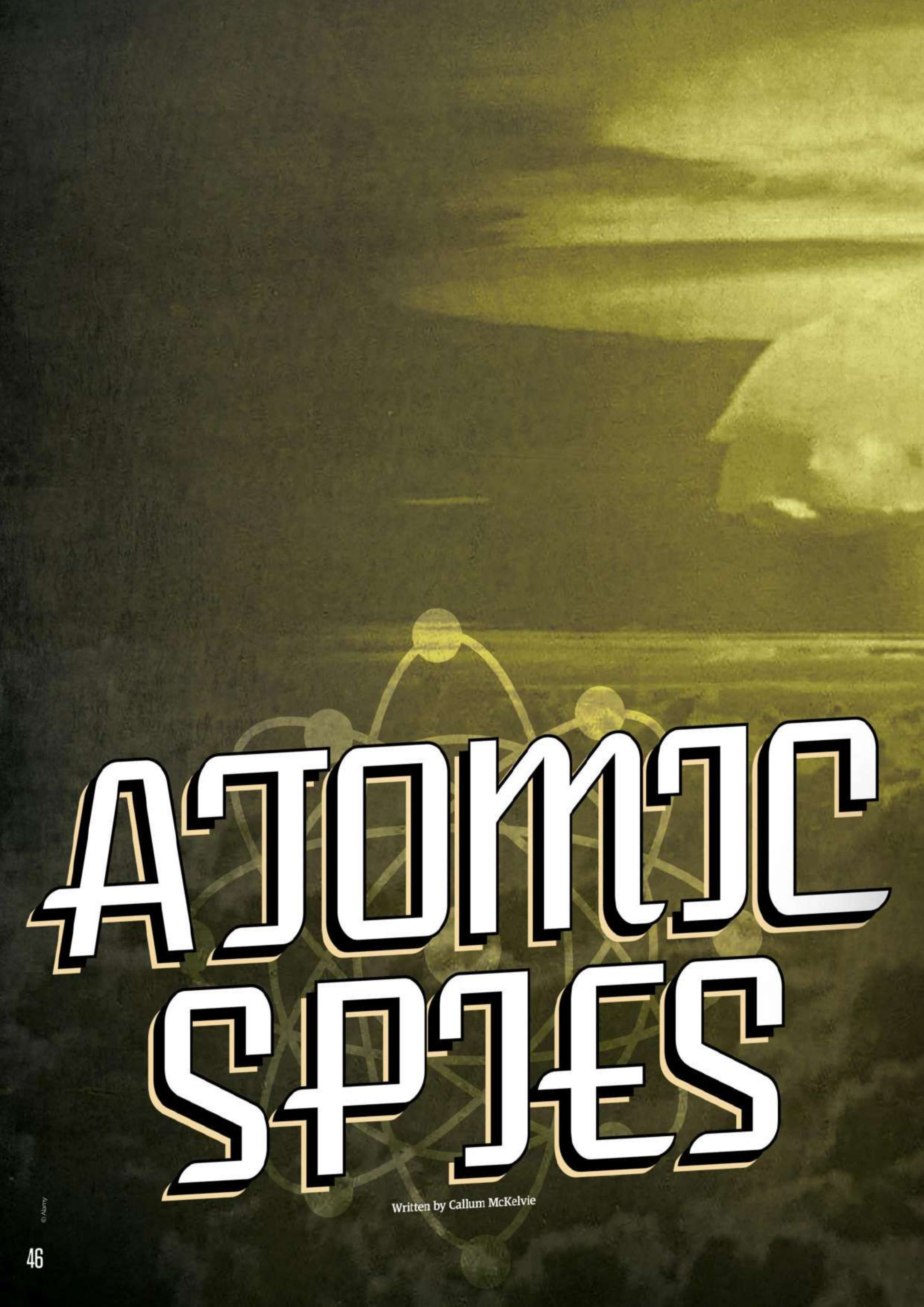


Toby Green
A Fistful of Shells
WEST AFRICA FROM THE RISE OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

***A Fistful Of Shells* by Toby Green** is available now from Allen Lane and was nominated for this year's Wolfson History Prize.



ATOMIC SPIES

Written by Callum McKelvie

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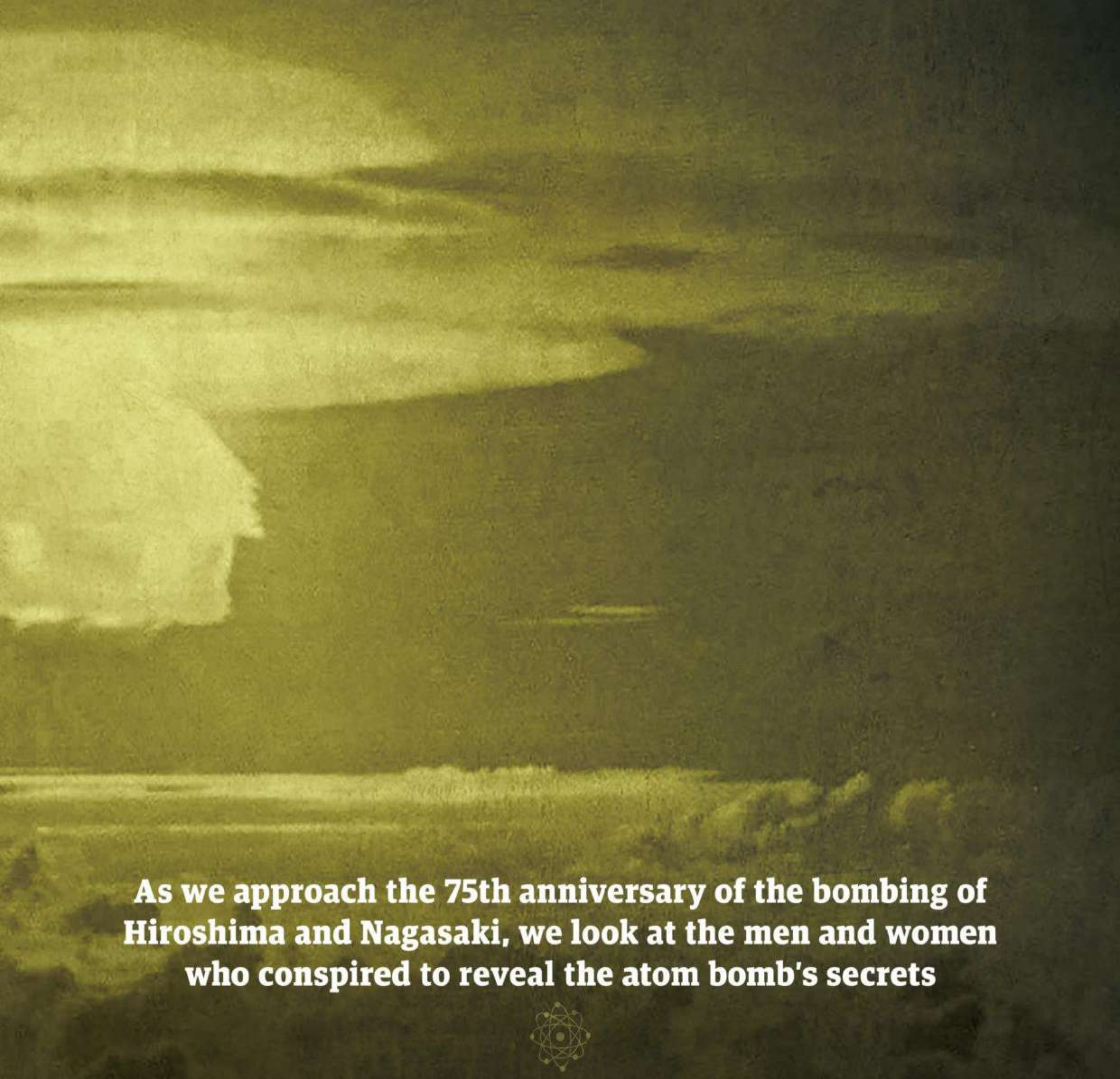


As we approach the 75th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we look at the men and women who conspired to reveal the atom bomb's secrets

On the morning of 6 August 1945, seven American aircraft head towards the Japanese city of Hiroshima. As part of Special Mission 13, the Enola Gay is the only one fitted for weapons delivery - this is no ordinary bombing raid. The city has been on alert most of the night due to radar detecting large numbers of American planes heading towards the south. The alert has been called twice and at 07:09 the all clear is sounded. At 08:09 the Enola Gay begins its bomb run and at 08:15 the first atomic bomb is dropped. Forty-four seconds later it detonates in the air with the force of 16 kilotons of TNT, killing around 30 per cent of the population immediately. Two days later, a similar device is dropped over the city of Nagasaki. Between 129,000 and 226,000 people are killed in the combined detonations.

Since the discovery of nuclear fission in Nazi Germany in 1938 by Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman, the possibility of its weaponisation had not escaped the warring powers. More than any other, World War II was a conflict dominated by technology and science. Zyklon B, the gas used in the chambers of Auschwitz, was a relatively recent commercial pesticide and camps such as the Japanese Unit 731 conducted lethal biological and chemical experimentation on prisoners. As soon as the possibility of atomic weaponisation was understood, a race began that would reach a devastating climax on those two fateful days in August.

The United States atomic research project, codenamed the Manhattan Project, began formally on 28 December 1942. It came into being after President Roosevelt ordered the unification of several independent research strands, including experiments at the University of Chicago on nuclear chain reactions and Glenn Seaborg's attempts to produce pure plutonium. The top-secret Manhattan Project had one explicit aim: weaponising nuclear energy before Nazi Germany or another Axis power could achieve the same deadly goal. J Robert Oppenheimer, who had been conducting research of his own and had impressed Lieutenant General Leslie Groves (the military leader of the operation), was selected as the project's head. On 1 January 1943 the project laboratory was formally established and a group of scientists began working on two distinct types of bomb: Little Boy, a uranium-based design, and Fat Man, a plutonium weapon.

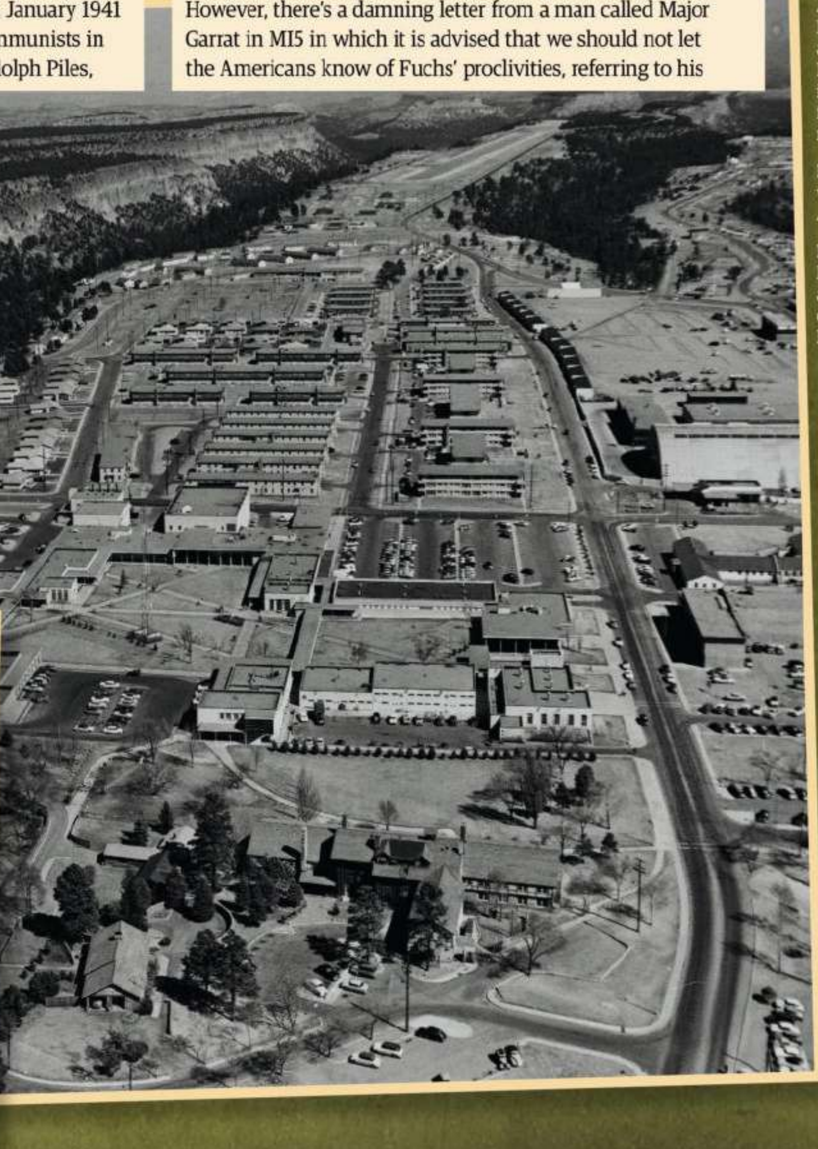
However, despite the extremely tight security and the top secret nature of the project, there were spies among the scientists from the very beginning. While the precautions of General Groves may have succeeded in keeping the atomic secrets from reaching the shores of Japan or the ears of Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union was a slightly trickier subject. From 1941 to the end of World War II in 1945, the Soviet Union was officially on the side of the Allies in the fight against Hitler's Germany. However, the United States (no doubt concerned by the stark ideological differences between its own capitalist system and the communism of Stalin's regime) sought to keep all knowledge of the project as secret as possible. This proved difficult for those members with socialist leanings, none more so than Klaus Fuchs, who was later described by a US Congressional Committee as "the most dangerous spy in the history of nations".

"Fuchs grew up as a teenager in emerging Nazi Germany to a strongly liberal and anti-Nazi family. Due to the communists being the only party prepared to put candidates against the Nazis, Fuchs joined and became an active member," says Frank Close, author of *Trinity: The Treachery And Pursuit Of The Most Dangerous Spy In History*. "He was on a Gestapo hit list but managed to escape and enrol at the University of Bristol, graduating and working as a research specialist in Edinburgh in 1938. When the war began, he went before the enemy aliens tribunal and was shipped off to Canada to an internment camp. Here, he met and was influenced by a man called Kahle, who we now know was a communist activist and probably a KGB agent. Fuchs was released in January 1941 and it seems that he then made contact with communists in Scotland. In May, he joined an old colleague, Rudolph Piles, at the University of Birmingham, and was introduced to the top-secret British nuclear project. In June, a significant thing happens and the pact between the Nazis and Russia breaks down. Now, imagine if you were in Fuchs' position. You are a committed communist, a scientist who wants to beat Hitler and now, by chance, you find yourself at the heart of this project. A project that will not just change the nature of warfare but this war in particular. It's absolutely imperative to get this device made before the Nazis and you find yourself in the position that you can influence things."

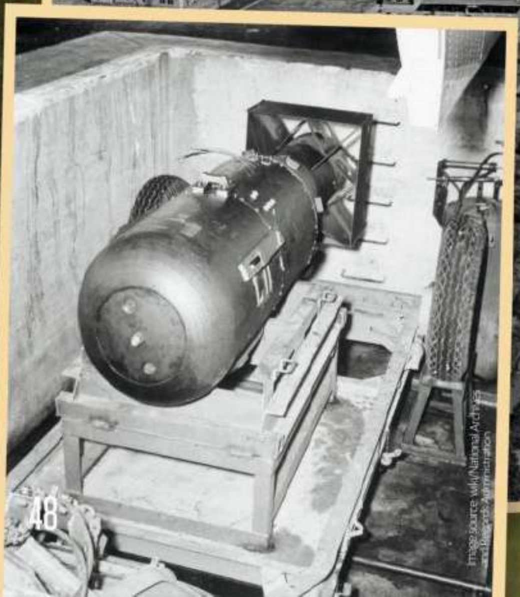
"There were spies among the scientists of the Manhattan Project from the beginning"

It was in August of 1941 that Fuchs first began passing information relating to the British atomic project to Russia, over a year before his work at the Manhattan Project. This of course raises the question, how had British intelligence failed to notice? "There was a letter back in 1934 from the police in Keele to the chief constable in Bristol, which mentions Fuchs' communist background," explains Close. "When the whole project moves over to North America Fuchs is vetted again and again – this is the only evidence they have against him. However, there's a damning letter from a man called Major Garrat in MI5 in which it is advised that we should not let the Americans know of Fuchs' proclivities, referring to his

ABOVE Klaus Fuchs in his office at the Institute for Nuclear Research in Dresden, 1959, following his release.



LEFT An aerial view of the Los Alamos complex



LEFT-INSET Little Boy, the atomic weapon dropped on Hiroshima

Image source: wiki/National Archives and Records Administration

2x © Getty Images

communism. I always felt that if General Groves had known of this particular letter he would have hung the Brits out to dry because that was a clear decision to withhold information, or at least suspicions, from the Americans. So Fuchs is now there for the next three years working in New York initially and then in Los Alamos building the bomb."

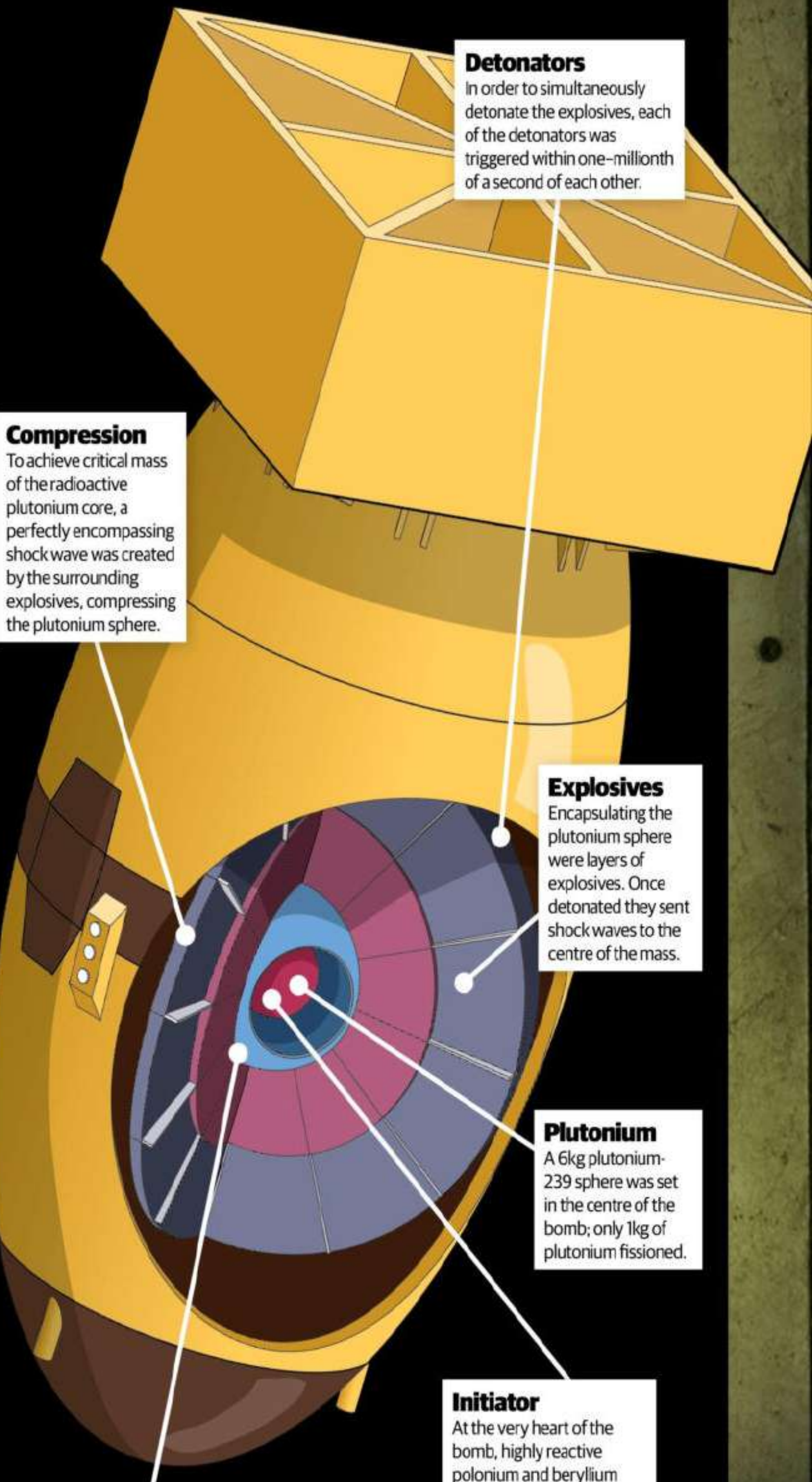
Along with Fuchs, perhaps two of the most notorious spies in operation at the same time were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. They were integral in providing information to the Russians about nuclear weapons as well as radar, sonar and jet propulsion technology. Out of the entire group, they were also the only two atomic spies to be executed for their crimes. Julius Rosenberg was recruited by the Soviet Union on Labour Day, 1942. Beginning by obtaining thousands of confidential reports from Emerson Radio (one of the USA's largest consumer electronics companies), he soon found a new role as a spy recruiter. Some of the individuals enlisted by him included fellow engineers Morton Sobell and William Perl, who stole thousands of documents from the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

However, Julius's biggest coup was in convincing his wife's brother, David Greenglass, one of the scientists on the Manhattan Project, to join the communist cause. After his recruitment, Greenglass wrote to his wife Ruth: "My darling, I most certainly will be glad to be part of the community project that Julius and his friends have in mind for us." Swap out "community project" for "espionage" and "friends" for "Russians" and you start to get the picture.

However, in this internet age when files can be sent in an instant, one question stands out regarding the spycraft used: just how was the information taken out of Los Alamos and into the Soviet Union? Simple - they used a courier. The courier on behalf of David Greenglass was one Harry Gold. A laboratory chemist, Gold first began working as a spy in 1935. During this period he was recruited by Soviet operative Jacob Golos and passed industrial secrets from the sugar factory in which he worked to a former classmate and communist party member Tom Black. Gold's remit would gradually expand and by ▶

INSIDE THE FAT MAN

How the implosion-type bomb dropped on Nagasaki worked



Detonators
In order to simultaneously detonate the explosives, each of the detonators was triggered within one-millionth of a second of each other.

Compression
To achieve critical mass of the radioactive plutonium core, a perfectly encompassing shockwave was created by the surrounding explosives, compressing the plutonium sphere.

Explosives
Encapsulating the plutonium sphere were layers of explosives. Once detonated they sent shockwaves to the centre of the mass.

Plutonium
A 6kg plutonium-239 sphere was set in the centre of the bomb; only 1kg of plutonium fissioned.

Initiator
At the very heart of the bomb, highly reactive polonium and beryllium acted as the initiator for the plutonium chain reaction.

Uranium sphere
During the chain reaction, excess neutrons were reflected back into the core by the uranium sphere to increase the plutonium's critical mass.

1943 he was running Operation Sulpho, which aimed to steal biological weapons secrets.

It was around this time in 1943 that Gold became the handler for Fuchs. After his first meeting with Fuchs, the two men then took a short walk during which Fuchs informed Gold of the methods required to separate isotopes. Between February 1944 and September 1945, Fuchs met Gold four times.

Shortly after this, Fuchs himself was transferred to Los Alamos, much to the delight of his Soviet spymasters. Now, with the combined efforts of Fuchs, David and Ruth Greenglass, Theodore Hall and the Rosenbergs, a network of useful and proven spies was in place. At its head was Leonid Kvasnikov, who was one of the instigators of Soviet atomic espionage. Discovering that British, American and German scientists who regularly published their findings on uranium research in a number of journals were no longer doing so, Kvasnikov realised that a secret research project was underway. From Moscow, working under Soviet intelligence director Pavel Fitin, he organised the control of the spy network.

On the 6th and 9th of August 1945, the United States dropped the two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the only atomic weapons used in anger to this day. Six days after the second bombing, the Japanese surrendered. In Moscow, where the Soviet high command had not been aware of the impending bombings, the situation was tense. After all, what's the point of a spy network if it doesn't deliver the goods? Kvasnikov was informed that now the United States had shown it had the most powerful weapon in existence his network was more important than ever. The USSR must have the bomb.

It was towards the end of the decade that the mistake that Fuchs made several years earlier would come back to haunt him. "Fuchs did everything correctly. He met his contact, Harry Gold, briefly passed information to him, he passed it on to his Russian Embassy contact and then they have to get that information to Moscow. This is the weak link," says Close. "The Russians then encoded the information and sent it back to Moscow and they did this using what's called one-time pads. If you use a one-time pad only once it's completely and utterly

DANGER
NEUTRON
DANGER
NEUTRONS AND GAMMA RAYS
DANGER
NEUTRONS AND GAMMA RAYS

ABOVE Technicians working in one of the labs at the Los Alamos facility

RIGHT The spy David Greenglass being escorted to a federal court hearing

FAR-RIGHT Julius and Ethel Rosenberg being transported to the Federal House of Detention following their conviction

THE NAME'S PHILBY... KIM PHILBY

Klaus Fuchs wasn't the only spy to escape the notice of the British intelligence services

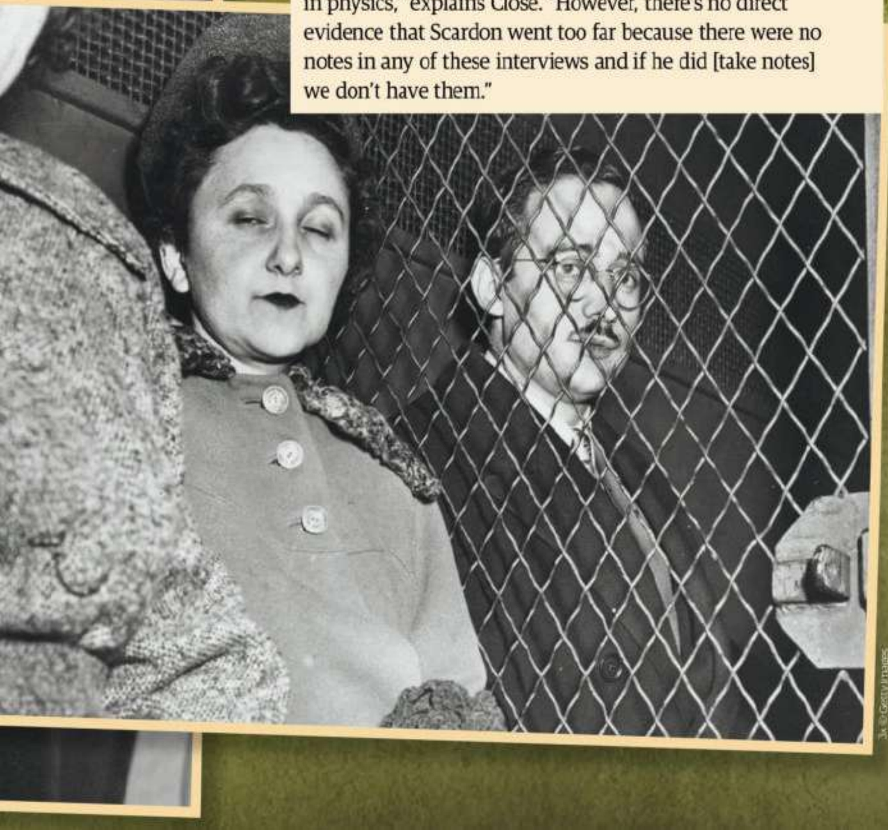
Kim Philby, who may or may not have tipped off Fuchs about British intelligence placing him under surveillance, himself lived a double life as a notorious spy. One of the infamous Cambridge Five, he was recruited by the Soviet Union as early as 1934, before he had even begun working for British intelligence. Alongside Philby, Guy Burgess, Donald MacLean, Anthony Blunt and John Cairncross formed the other members of the ring. Among the intelligence Philby himself was able to give to the Soviet Union was information about an Anglo-American plot to subvert the communist regime in Albania. In 1951, following the defections of Burgess and Maclean, suspicion fell upon Philby. However, in 1955 he was publicly exonerated and able to resume his career as a journalist, although he had been forced to leave MI6. But the writing was on the wall and a mere eight years later he was finally unmasked as a spy, after which he defected to Russia. He spent the rest of his life virtually under house arrest in Moscow and occupied his time writing his memoirs until his death in 1988.

Image source: wiki/Manfuna

uncrackable; however, if you use one more than once that is enough, somehow, for expert cryptographers to start getting into it. Now it turns out that the Russians did use one of their one-time pads more than once and unbeknownst to them, these messages were being intercepted by the Americans. For the majority of the 1940s they couldn't decode them, but they were intercepted and stored in case one day they could. It wasn't until 1949 that they started to be decoded, interestingly due to the efforts of GCHQ in what was called the Venona codes. Immediately they were able to discover there'd been a spy in the British mission at Los Alamos, and from some of the details they were quickly able to determine that it was Fuchs."

British intelligence, however, had a problem. "The evidence that Fuchs was a spy was the cracked Venona codes," continues Close. "But these were top secret, so secret in fact that it alone could not be used as a basis for arresting and convicting him. So they bugged his apartment, office, telephones and the house of his boss, with whose wife, this bugging revealed, Fuchs was having an affair. That was the only thing they were able to discern. It's possible that Kim Philby, one of the Cambridge Five, had tipped him off as Fuchs stopped spying shortly before all the surveillance began. However, a man called Jim Scardon, an MI5 interrogator, interviewed Fuchs on two separate occasions and the pressure must have been building up before then. The result was Fuchs finally decided he was going to confess. I believe he confessed because he wanted to protect his sister in the US, who had inadvertently become involved and was in a psychiatric hospital. It is clear when you read the discussions between the prosecution team and British intelligence that there was concern the interrogator had gone too far. If any of this came out in court the whole confession would be undermined."

The phrase "the interrogator had gone too far" conjures images of smoke-filled rooms and characters straight out of a John le Carré novel. However, Fuchs' interviews took place not in a shady basement somewhere in West Berlin but in his flat in the UK. "The concern was that at some point in the interviews Scardon had led Fuchs to believe that if he confessed, all this could be swept under the carpet and he would be able to move to Liverpool and carry on working in physics," explains Close. "However, there's no direct evidence that Scardon went too far because there were no notes in any of these interviews and if he did [take notes] we don't have them."



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"British intelligence bugged Fuchs' apartment, office, telephones and even the house of his boss"

In this confession, Fuchs implicated his courier Gold and began a domino effect within the spy network as each member crumbled under the pressure and confessed - usually implicating another conspirator at the same time. On 16 June 1950, Greenglass was arrested, followed swiftly by the arrest of his brother-in-law Julius Rosenberg. Fuchs was sentenced to 14 years, Gold for 30 and David Greenglass nine-and-a-half. The worst punishment, however, was reserved for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who after a lengthy trial were sentenced to death. Greenglass was a key witness in the trial and later stated that he'd given false testimony to protect his wife and child, simultaneously betraying his own sister. Prosecutor Roy Cohn stated that he believed it was his influence that led the judge to impose the death penalty. Cohn would later work for Senator Joe McCarthy.

The 'guilt' of the Rosenbergs is still the subject of debate. Their sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, proclaimed their parents' innocence and to this day campaign for the exoneration of their mother. The Rosenbergs became a potent symbol of Cold War paranoia, in much the same way as McCarthyism, and a reminder of what could happen when the 'Red Scare' was taken too far. The broken Venona codes were published in 1995 and these revealed that Julius had in fact been the leader of a ring of spies - but said nothing of Ethel's involvement. Since then, the majority of the grand jury's testimony has been released, as well as further evidence that has cemented Julius's role. However, Ethel's position is more widely debated and a campaign for her pardon continues.

And there's one last twist in this tale of atomic chicanery. "Your readers by and large will have heard of Fuchs but they won't have heard of Ted Hall," says Close. "Hall was an American who passed secrets [to the Soviets] during the war, probably as important as Fuchs. But people have never heard of him. Why? He too was exposed through these Russian codes, so why is he unknown? Because he denied everything and because the authorities, not wanting to use the Russian codes in any court, had no option but to let Hall get away with it. I ask myself, suppose Fuchs hadn't confessed? We'd have never heard of him either, at least not as a spy. But what would have happened to him? He would have continued as head of theory in Harwell [a research facility near Oxford], he would have been the consultant on the British atomic bomb, he would have been the father of the British hydrogen bomb. He would have died in 1988 a hero in Britain, a hero of the British atomic and hydrogen programmes. Look what happened to his colleagues! Rudolph Piles became Sir Rudolph Piles; Will Penny, the head of the British atomic programme, became Lord Penny; and Brian Flowers became Lord Flowers. Fuchs would have been the hero of the British and hydrogen programmes. Lord Fuchs of Harwell, the Red Baron!" ○

Image source: wiki/Cavendish Morton

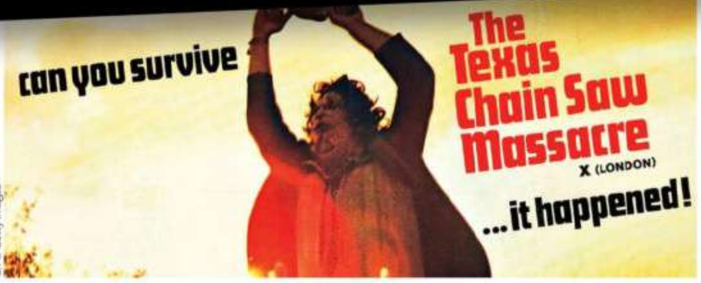
KING [redacted] LEAR [redacted] WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

When: 1810-1820 **What:** Play **Where:** England

It's long been known that performances of *King Lear* were prohibited in England during the reign of George III, but medical records released in 2018 have actually revealed new details behind the temporary ban. The parallels between the increasingly unstable and delusional Lear and George III are clear enough. Shakespeare's king is often lost in the imagined scenes of his own mind, striking out at invisible enemies, and the mental health of George III was likewise famously complex and debilitating.

The new twist, however, in these royal records released in 2018 is that one episode of George III's mental health crisis began after he read the play. The king's physician, Sir Lucas Pepys, wrote to the then Prince of Wales (later George IV) explaining, "This morning he is in nearly the same state he was in the evening, but is more agitated and confused, perhaps from having been permitted to read *King Lear*."

BANNED



3x © Getty Images

THE TEXAS [redacted] CHAINSAW MASSACRE TOBE HOOPER [redacted]

When: 1974 **What:** Film **Where:** Australia, Israel, South Africa, Turkey, USA, UK

The film's violence saw it blocked from release in theatres around the world, although the British Board of Film Classification's ban in the UK came a full year after it had started screening. The ban extended to using the word 'chainsaw' in titles in an attempt to put off copycat films.

BACK TO [redacted] THE FUTURE [redacted] ROBERT ZEMECKIS

When: 2011 **What:** Film **Where:** China

Was it the 1950s American capitalism that offended the Chinese authorities in *Back To The Future*? No, it was time travel. The idea of being able to go back and rewrite history was deemed "frivolous" by communist officials. That said, the movie still managed to get a streaming release more recently.

SCHINDLER'S LIST

STEVEN [redacted] SPIELBERG

When: 1993 **What:** Film **Where:** Indonesia, Malaysia

Banning Spielberg's award-winning Holocaust movie might seem surprising, but it was not without its controversies, particular since it drew the ire of Palestinian protesters and their supporters who feared it justified Israel's expansion. It was temporarily stopped from release in Malaysia for this reason and because of its scenes containing nudity.

THE [redacted] ADVENTURES OF SHERLOCK [redacted] HOLMES

ARTHUR [redacted] CONAN DOYLE

When: 1929 **What:** Book **Where:** USSR

It might surprise you to learn that Sherlock Holmes is massively popular in Russia, with a statue to him erected in Moscow in 2007. However, this collection was banned in 1929 for its references to occultism. The highly prescribed limitations on topics by the Soviet government at the time forbade such superstitiously driven material, even in fiction.

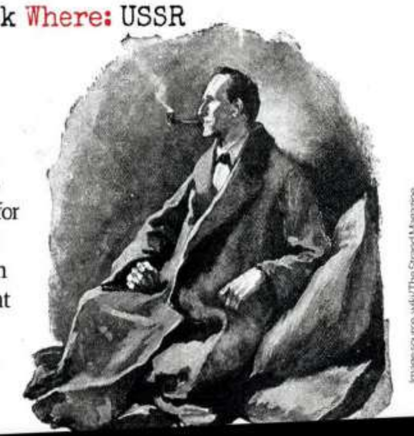


Image source: wiki/The Strand Magazine

The stories behind [redacted] the books, movies, [redacted] music and art that have been censored [redacted] and hidden by [redacted] authorities through history

Written by Jonathan [redacted] Gordon

The materials that a community deems suitable or unsuitable for consumption by its citizens is an interesting and ever-evolving conversation. As we can see in our own media landscape, there are some films and TV shows that were once considered risque or even corrupting that today we consider harmless, perhaps even laughably so. Likewise, there are things in the past that today simply seem unconscionable, be it because of the language used, stereotypes propagated or something else. Throughout history artists have considered it their duty to push at the outer edges of taste and court confrontation as a result, but others have fallen unwittingly into social debates. Digging through the records we wanted to give you the stories behind some of the most eye-catching and peculiar examples of censorship from around the world.

[redacted] STRANGE FRUIT [redacted]

BILLIE [redacted] HOLIDAY

When: 1939 **What:** Song **Where:** USA

Originally a poem by Abel Meeropol written in 1937 that he turned into a song, famed singer Billie Holiday turned *Strange Fruit* into one of the first big protest records. The lyrics were inspired by a photo Meeropol had seen of two black men lynched in Indiana. Holiday was introduced to the song lyrics by a nightclub owner and was inspired to sing it, albeit with some trepidation that it could spark uproar for its violent imagery. As it was, her performance was a hit and she recorded *Strange Fruit* as a single, but once released it began to draw the ire of the US government and cities began to ban performances of the song from 1940 for fear it would cause civil unrest. Despite this, when the Library of Congress began preserving records for posterity in 2002, it was one of the first 50 to be inducted.

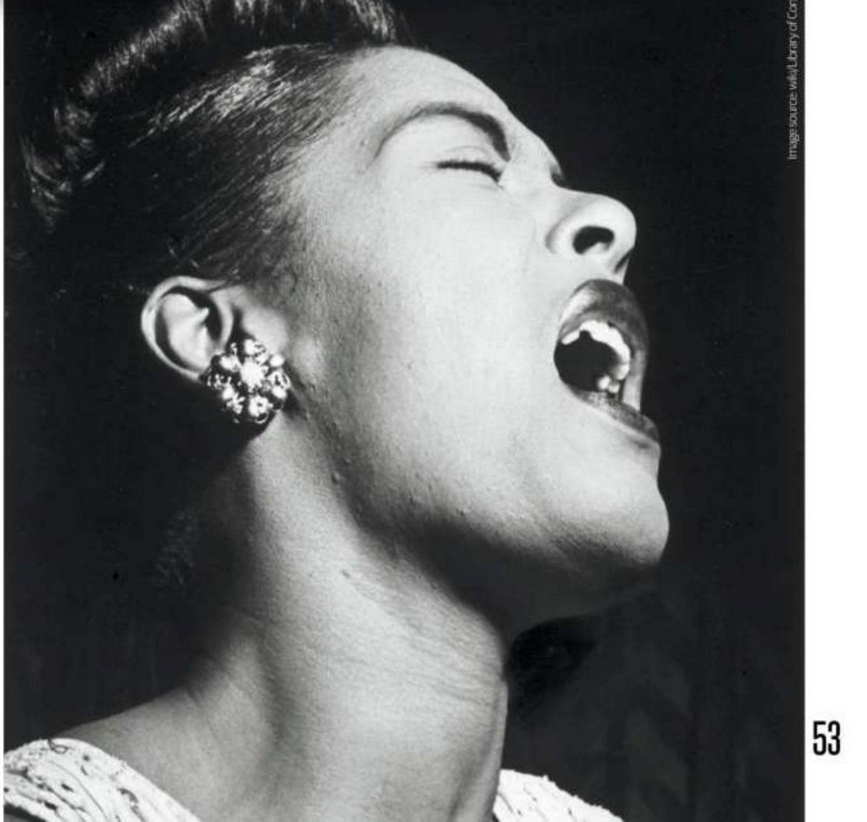


Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

LADY [redacted] CHATTERLEY'S LOVER

[redacted] DH LAWRENCE

When: 1928 **What:** Book **Where:** Australia, Canada, China, India, Japan, UK, USA

Between its original privately published release in Italy in 1928 until 1960, it was impossible to buy an unedited, uncensored version of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in Britain. The cause for this lengthy expurgation? Explicit sex and the use of four-letter words.

The case famously came to a head in 1960 with an obscenity trial against Penguin Books when it published the first unedited version of the novel in the UK. The trial took place just a year after the Obscene Publications Act of 1959 and as such was very much a test case for the new laws. The key legal challenge was around the vulgar language in the book, but Penguin was able to prove the book had literary merit. A later edition was dedicated to the jurors who passed the not-guilty verdict.

In a recent twist to the story, the judge's copy of the book was barred from being exported from the UK in May 2019 after it was sold at auction for £56,000. All of the 'questionable' material had been highlighted by the judge's wife for reference in the trial.

6x © Getty Images

THE PILL [redacted]

[redacted] LORETTA LYNN

When: 1975 **What:** Song **Where:** USA

Although it was released 15 years after the introduction of the birth control pill, Loretta Lynn's deftly comic song about a married woman who is delighted to have control of her life after years of pregnancies with her husband still managed to raise a lot of controversy. The country singer found her track banned by 60 radio stations in the US because of its themes.

It may come as no surprise that this reaction by country radio, along with the religious outcry, actually had the opposite effect that those attacking the song wanted. It reportedly sold 15,000 copies a week, making it one of Lynn's most successful tracks in a long and celebrated career. *The Pill* reached 70 in the Billboard Hot 100, which is the highest position that any of her solo records ever reached. It wouldn't be her last banned song either – throughout her career 14 of her tracks drew the ire of radio stations.

THE TRENCH

OTTO [redacted] DIX

When: 1937 **What:** Painting **Where:** Germany

We could dedicate an entire feature to the art and books that were banned under the Nazi regime in Germany, but we wanted to focus in on this particular example. Otto Dix was conscripted to the German army in 1915 when he was an art student in Dresden. After the war he created a number of anti-war works inspired by his experiences.

The Trench was one of his most striking paintings, standing over two metres high, depicting the chaos and carnage of war in the trenches in a visceral and dramatic way. It was immediately controversial and when the Dresden City Museum bought the painting in 1928 they didn't actually exhibit it. It would then be confiscated by the Nazis and used in their degenerate art exhibition in 1937 as an example of morally bankrupt and unpatriotic art.

The fate of *The Trench* after this is unknown. Many modernist works of art were burned by the Nazis in 1939 and it was believed *The Trench* may have been among them. A bill of sale exists for the painting, however, and it may have survived until at least 1940, but is now considered lost.

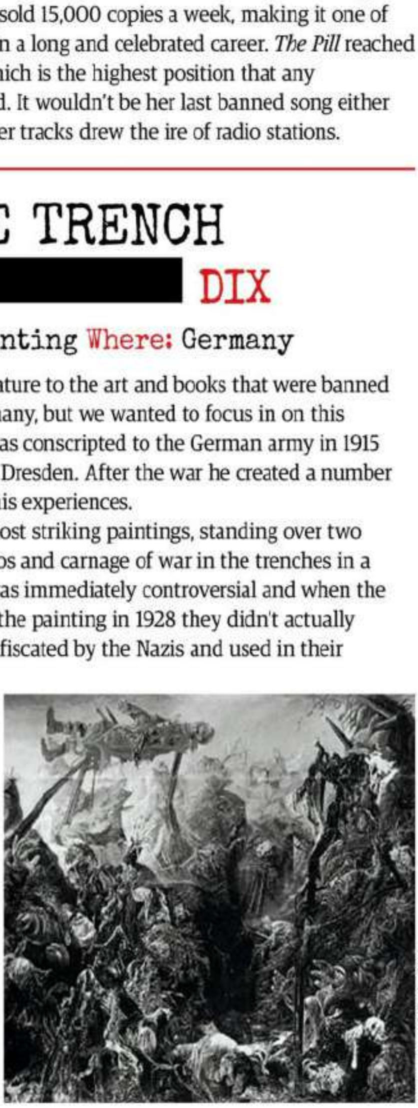
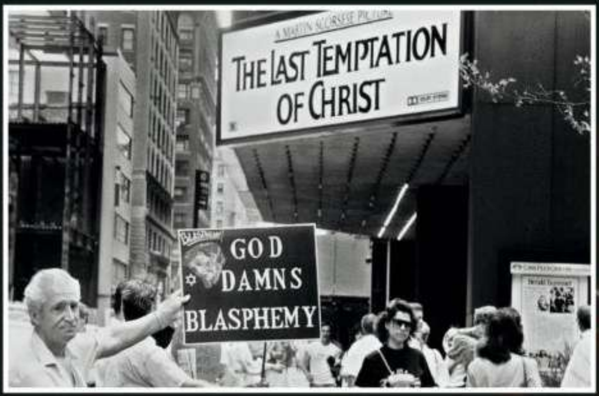


Image source: wiki/Bagh-e Nazar



THE [redacted] LAST TEMPTATION [redacted] OF CHRIST MARTIN SCORSESE

When: 1988 **What:** Film **Where:** Argentina, Chile, Greece, Israel, Mexico, Philippines, Singapore, Turkey, USA

A hugely controversial film from the moment of its release, Martin Scorsese's *The Last Temptation Of Christ* was attacked by Christian religious groups around the world. It received bans of several years in a number of countries (it's still banned in the Philippines and Singapore) as well as Savannah, Georgia, in the US, where its release was blocked for six weeks.

The key criticism of the film by Christians was its 'blasphemous' depiction of Jesus Christ, played by Willem Dafoe, and the titular 'last temptation' he experiences. The film sees him questioning his role, working with the Romans at times and ultimately accepting an offer from the Devil to be released from the cross to live his life in anonymity. Many were particularly appalled that Jesus married Mary Magdalene.

[redacted] WATERLOO ABBA [redacted]

When: 1990 **What:** Song **Where:** UK

Who could possibly have an issue with ABBA? Well, actually the BBC can. Or at least it did back in 1990 at the outbreak of the Gulf War when 67 songs that referenced conflict or anything that could be associated with the war were barred from being played on its radio stations.

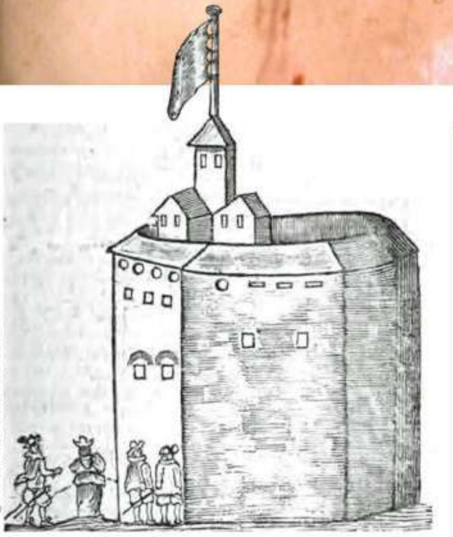


Image source: wiki/Claes Janszoon Visscher II

ALL PLAYS [redacted] [redacted] IN LONDON

When: 1642 **What:** Plays **Where:** London

During the Long Parliament the government ordered all theatres in London to be closed, deeming public displays of "lascivious Mirth and Levity" as inappropriate during a time of upheaval in the country. The ban ended in 1660 with the restoration of King Charles II.

MONTY PYTHON'S [redacted] LIFE OF [redacted] BRIAN TERRY JONES

When: 1979 **What:** Film **Where:** Ireland, Norway, South Africa, USA and UK (some cities)

The second film from the Monty Python team drew a lot of attention from Christian groups, who said it was blasphemous for its satire of religion in the time of Jesus. It was blocked by some city councils in the UK, banned in Ireland for eight years, and even where it was screened it was sometimes picketed by protestors.

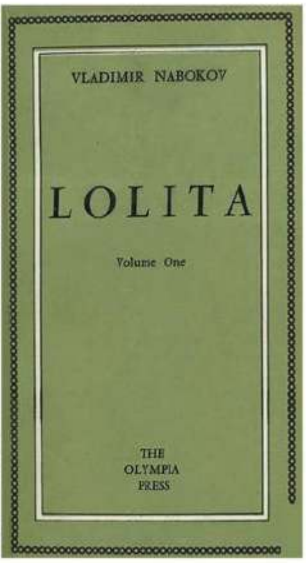


Image source: wiki/Olympia Press

LOLITA [redacted]

VLADIMIR [redacted] NABOKOV

When: 1955 **What:** Book **Where:** Canada, France, South Africa, UK

Given the sexual content of this book that explores a middle-aged man's obsession with his 12-year-old stepdaughter, its censorship on the grounds of it being pornography is not too surprising for 1955. When it was finally released in the UK in 1959 an MP had to resign because of his association with the publishing company.

BACCHANTE [redacted] AND INFANT [redacted] FAUN

FREDERICK WILLIAM MACMONNIES [redacted]

When: 1894 **What:** Statue **Where:** Boston, USA

A little unusual to have a statue blocked from public display, but that's what happened when MacMonnies gave his original cast of Bacchante to his friend Charles Follen McKim as he was building Boston's new public library. Religious groups protested against it for its depiction of "drunken indecency". McKim then gave it to the Met Musuem in New York, where it remains.

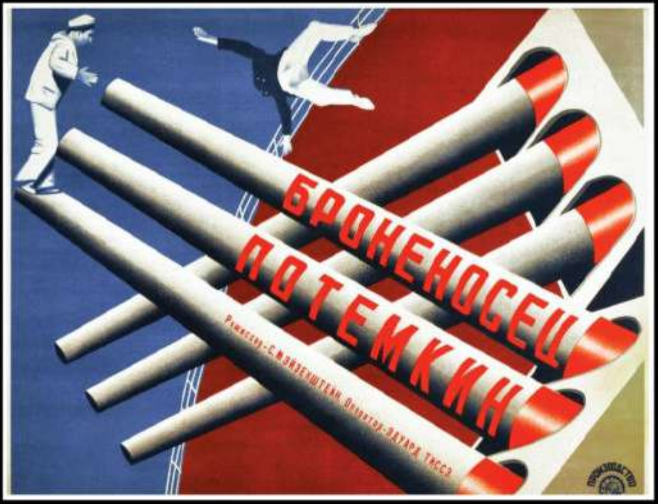
Image source: wiki/Daderot

STAR [redacted] [redacted] WARS

GEORGE LUCAS

When: 1977 **What:** Film **Where:** USSR

The association of the Empire in George Lucas' *Star Wars* with Nazis and imperial forces through history was always obvious enough, and it didn't escape the Soviet authorities either. They blocked its release since the evil empire hit a little too close to home. The ban was lifted in Russia in 1990 as the Iron Curtain fell.



BATTLESHIP [redacted] POTEMKIN

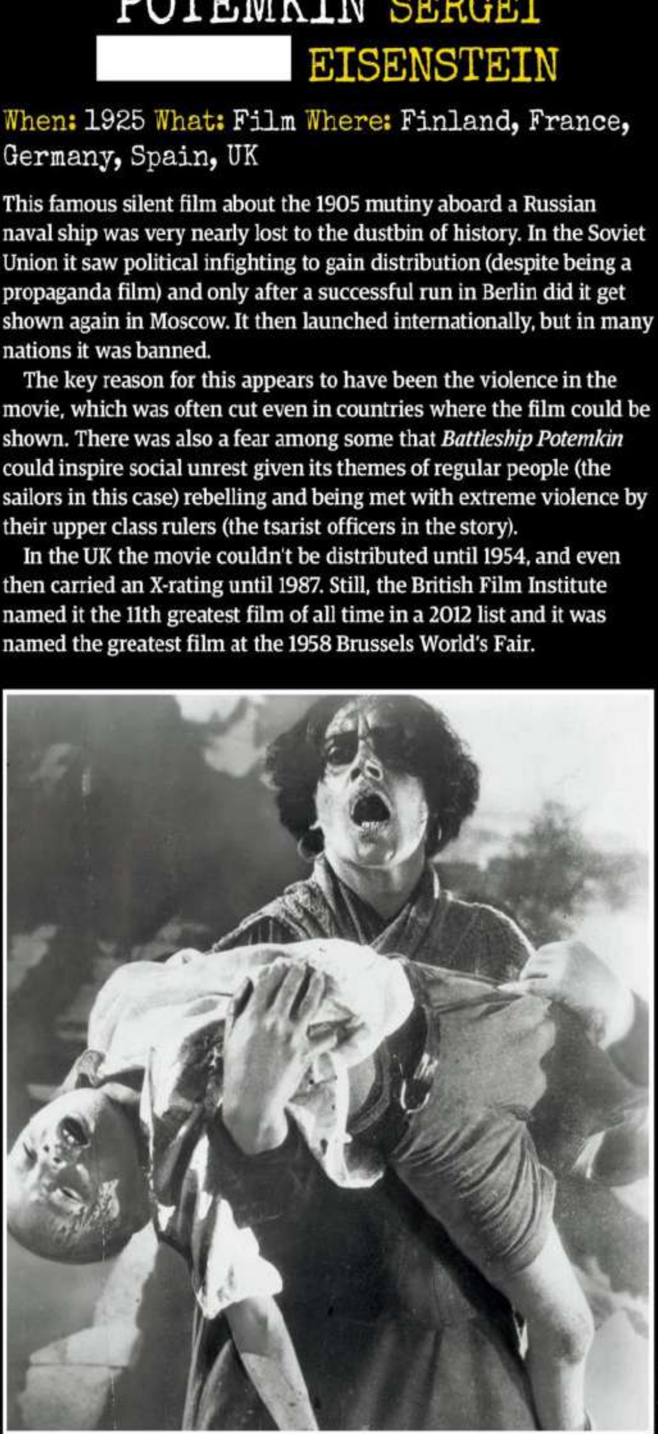
SERGEI [redacted] EISENSTEIN

When: 1925 **What:** Film **Where:** Finland, France, Germany, Spain, UK

This famous silent film about the 1905 mutiny aboard a Russian naval ship was very nearly lost to the dustbin of history. In the Soviet Union it saw political infighting to gain distribution (despite being a propaganda film) and only after a successful run in Berlin did it get shown again in Moscow. It then launched internationally, but in many nations it was banned.

The key reason for this appears to have been the violence in the movie, which was often cut even in countries where the film could be shown. There was also a fear among some that *Battleship Potemkin* could inspire social unrest given its themes of regular people (the sailors in this case) rebelling and being met with extreme violence by their upper class rulers (the tsarist officers in the story).

In the UK the movie couldn't be distributed until 1954, and even then carried an X-rating until 1987. Still, the British Film Institute named it the 11th greatest film of all time in a 2012 list and it was named the greatest film at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair.



5x © Getty Images

THE SATANIC [redacted] VERSES

SALMAN [redacted] RUSHDIE

When: 1988 **What:** Book **Where:** Egypt, India, Iran, Pakistan

Listing all of the places that *The Satanic Verses* has been banned would take up quite a lot of space, so we'll have to rather crudely summarise that a lot of Muslim-majority countries and countries with sizable Muslim populations took exception to Salman Rushdie's 1988 novel.

Celebrated in the UK upon its release, *The Satanic Verses* won the Whitbread Award and was a finalist for the Booker Prize, but its references to the Quran and inspiration taken from the life of Muhammad made it blasphemous to Muslims.

While the ban on religious grounds would have been expected, the political and personal chaos it wrought may not have been. Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini issued a fatwā (a nonbinding legal opinion in Islamic law) condemning Rushdie to death. Violent protests as well as attempts on the author's life then followed, and Rushdie's Japanese translator Hitoshi Igarashi was killed in 1991, although the case was never solved.

SATANIC VERSES
RUSHDIE MUST DIE!

The Satanic Verses

ANIMAL FARM [redacted]

[redacted] GEORGE ORWELL

When: 1945 **What:** Book **Where:** North Korea, United Arab Emirates, USSR, Vietnam

Image source: wiki/BNU

George Orwell's renowned allegory for the dangers of totalitarianism and the easy spiral that can occur when power begins to corrupt was always going to rub some nations up the wrong way. While parallels can certainly be made to Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union and the events in Germany through the 1930s and 1940s, the book was actually inspired by Orwell's experiences of fighting in the Spanish Civil War against Franco.

Given its lampooning of strong-man leaders it's no surprise that it would ultimately be banned from publication in the USSR, but fears of how the Soviets would react actually meant Orwell struggled to find a publisher for the book when he finished in it 1943. It was only after the war and the USSR was no longer an ally that the book was finally picked up and released.

Animal Farm was also banned in the United Arab Emirates in 1977 as it clashe with Islamic values with its depiction of anthropomorphised pigs and alcohol use.

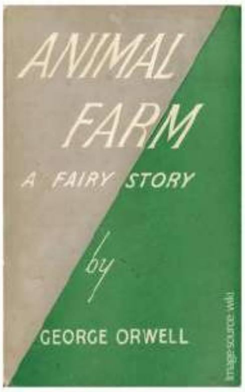


Image source: wiki

LA [redacted] MAJA DESNUDA

FRANCISCO GOYA [redacted]

When: 1800 **What:** Painting **Where:** Spain

Whether he knew it or not, Francisco Goya was crossing a significant line in the depiction of nudity when he accepted the commission to paint *La Maja Desnuda* for Manuel de Godoy. The convention to that point was for nudes to be mythical in nature, or when depicting real people to be of women usually considered of lesser morals, such as prostitutes. It would also be expected that the subject would demurely look away from the viewer.

This painting broke all of those rules and was explicit in its sexuality. While it was never hung publicly during Goya's lifetime, the Spanish Inquisition got wind of it in 1808 and seized it from Godoy, demanding to know who painted it. While Goya was named, he escaped prosecution. The painting now hangs in the Museo del Prado alongside the clothed companion piece by Goya, *La Maja Vestida*.

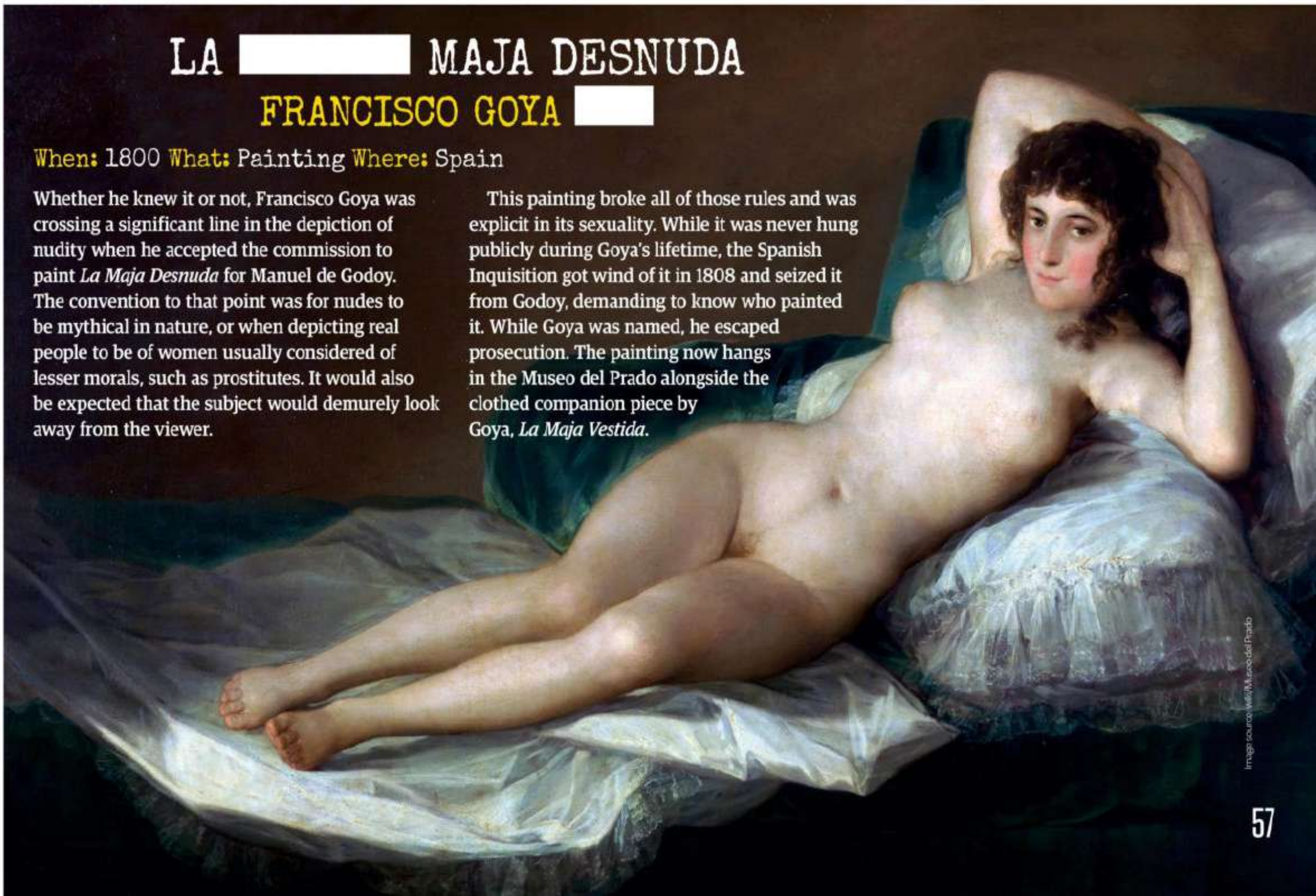
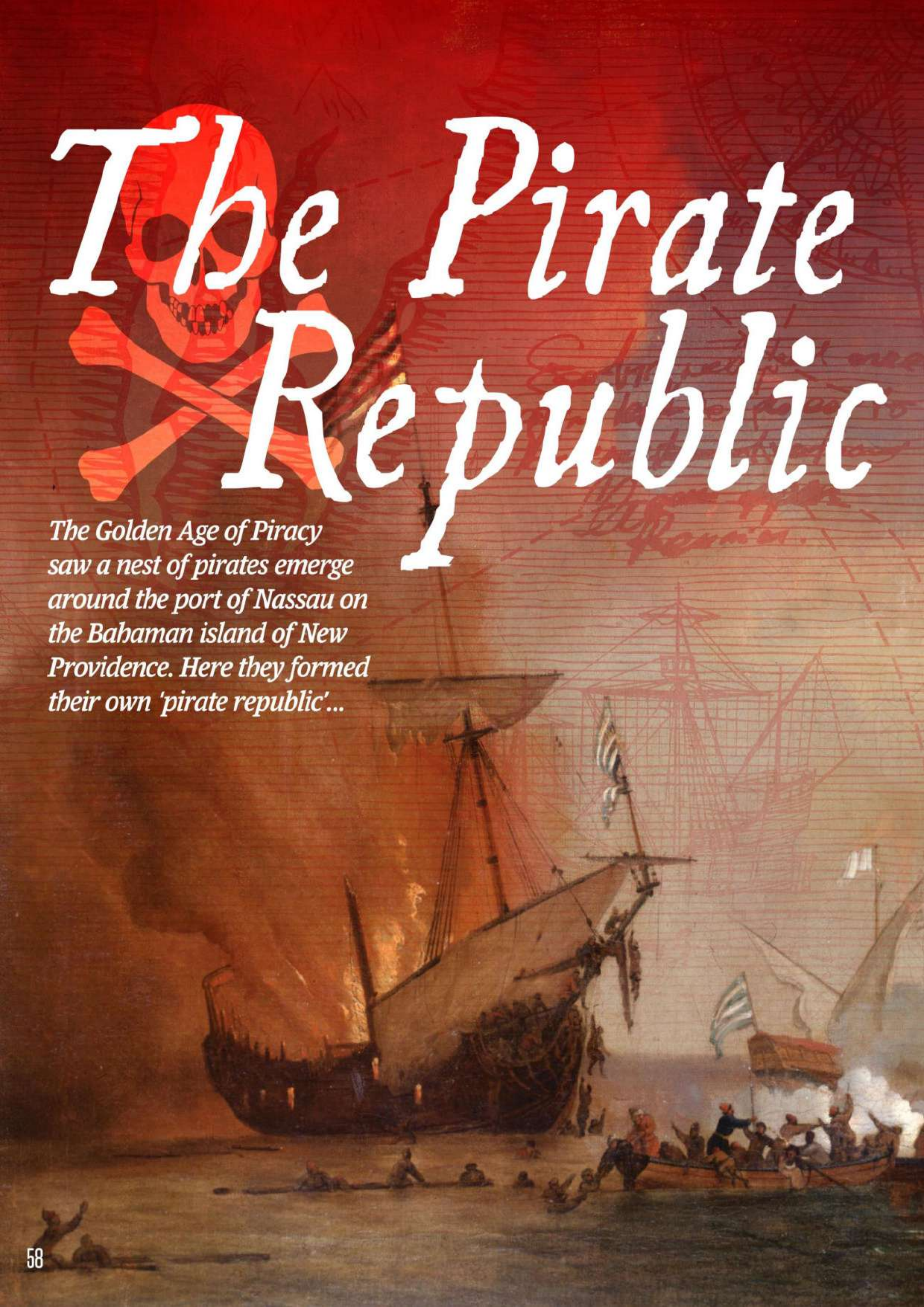


Image source: wiki/Museo del Prado



The Pirate Republic

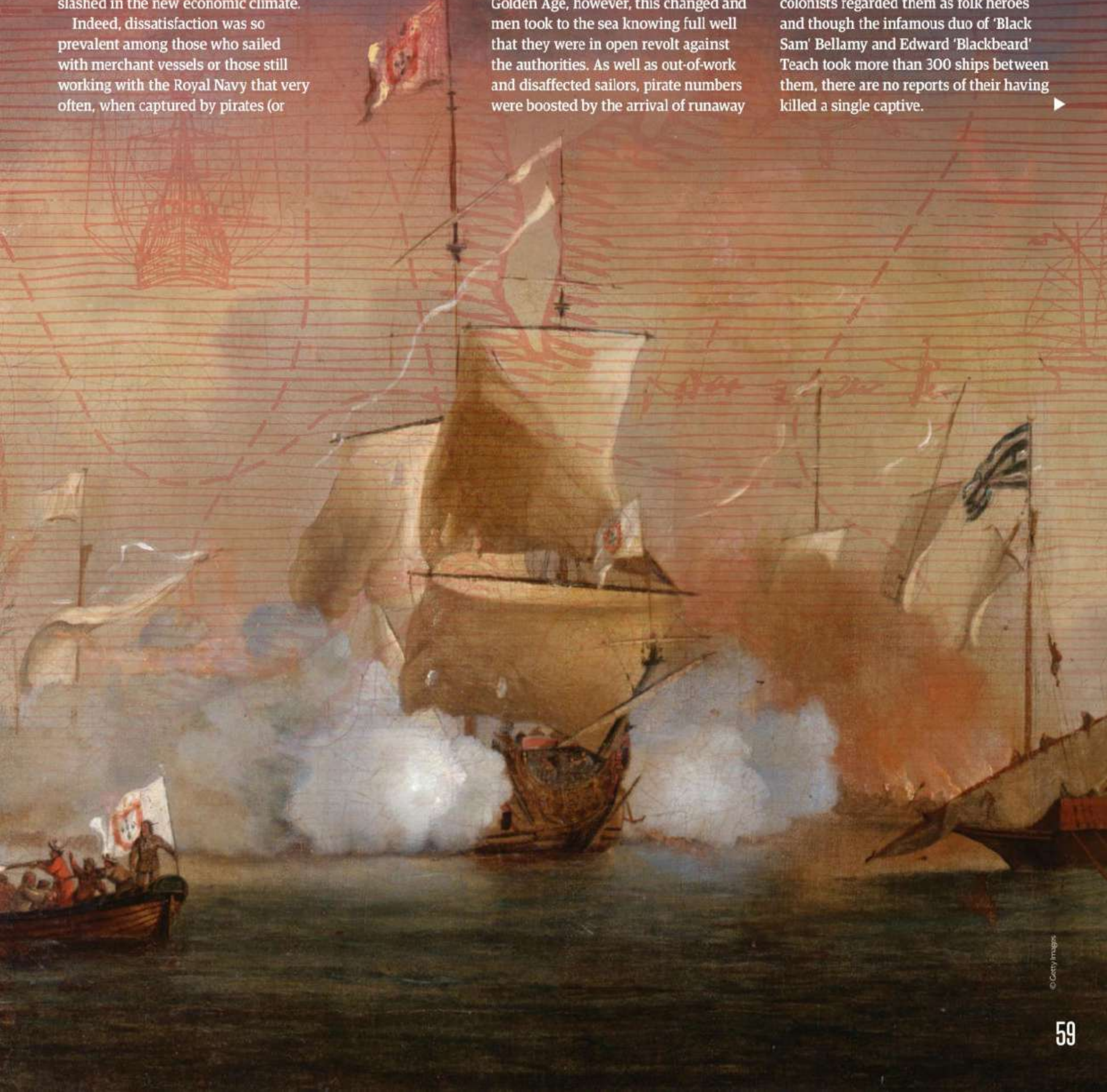
The Golden Age of Piracy saw a nest of pirates emerge around the port of Nassau on the Bahaman island of New Providence. Here they formed their own 'pirate republic'...

The Golden Age of Piracy has come to describe the decade between 1715 and 1725 where, with the Treaty of Utrecht bringing an end to Britain's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession, a number of enterprising and ruthless commodores had taken to the seas for private gain. British sailors had suffered particular hardship with the signing of the treaty and the Royal Navy's subsequent mothballing of its enormous fleet. This left sailors out of work, and those who did find employment saw their wages slashed in the new economic climate.

Indeed, dissatisfaction was so prevalent among those who sailed with merchant vessels or those still working with the Royal Navy that very often, when captured by pirates (or buccaneers as the Caribbean operatives became known), many men immediately switched sides. On board a pirate vessel, not only would they stand to boost their wages, but they would also enjoy a less stringent brand of discipline. One famous example of maritime defection is the standoff between Bahaman pirates and HMS Phoenix in 1718, where, under the cover of darkness, a clutch of Royal Navy men sneaked off to join the outlaws.

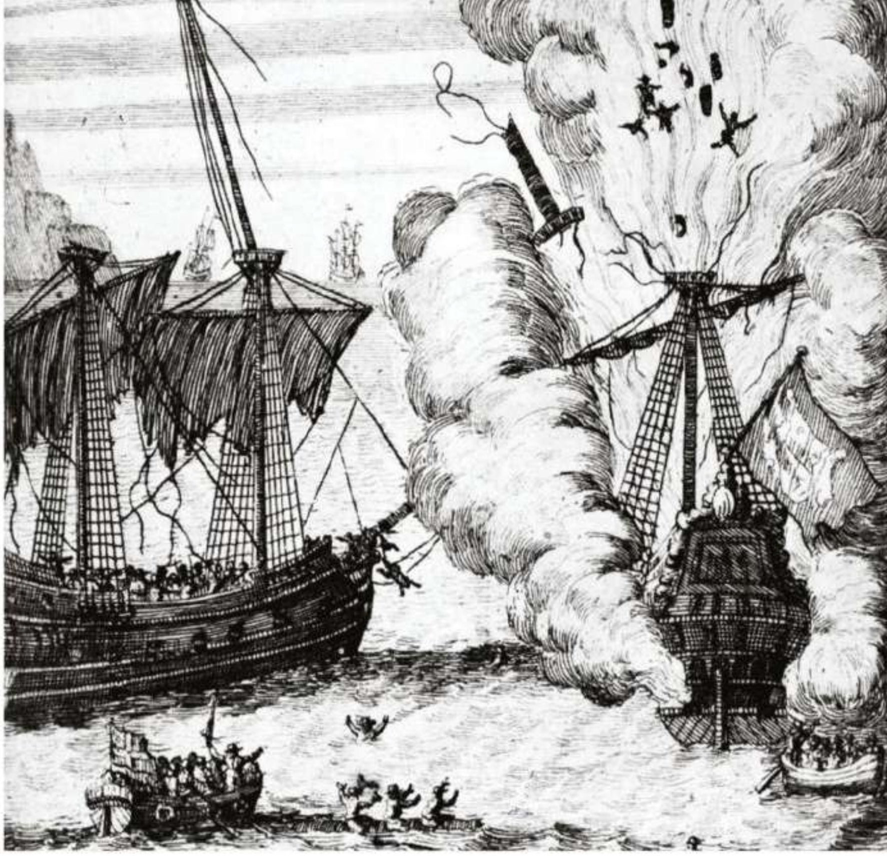
Many of the early buccaneers had been privateers, operating under licence from the crown and granted the legal right to harry enemy shipping. During the Golden Age, however, this changed and men took to the sea knowing full well that they were in open revolt against the authorities. As well as out-of-work and disaffected sailors, pirate numbers were boosted by the arrival of runaway slaves, indentured servants and all sorts of other outlaws, including the politically and religiously agitated, many of whom objected to George I's ascension to the throne of England in 1714. He had succeeded Queen Anne at the expense of the House of Stuart, much to the chagrin of Jacobite sympathisers. It is no coincidence that Blackbeard renamed his flagship, the captured slaver La Concorde, as Queen Anne's Revenge.

The authorities regularly painted pictures of these pirates as brutal monsters, bent on rape and pillage, but the truth is often quite different. Many colonists regarded them as folk heroes and though the infamous duo of 'Black Sam' Bellamy and Edward 'Blackbeard' Teach took more than 300 ships between them, there are no reports of their having killed a single captive.



BELOW A flotilla of smaller pirate ships attack a British Royal Navy vessel

© Getty Images



Much to the authorities' annoyance, these pirate gangs enjoyed enormous success, harrying French, Spanish and English shipping throughout the West Indies and raiding the coast. Chief among them were the pirates who set up in the port of Nassau on the Bahaman island of New Providence. The island was around 60 square miles in size and was situated 200 miles east of Florida, thereby offering a sound base to harass the shipping lanes.

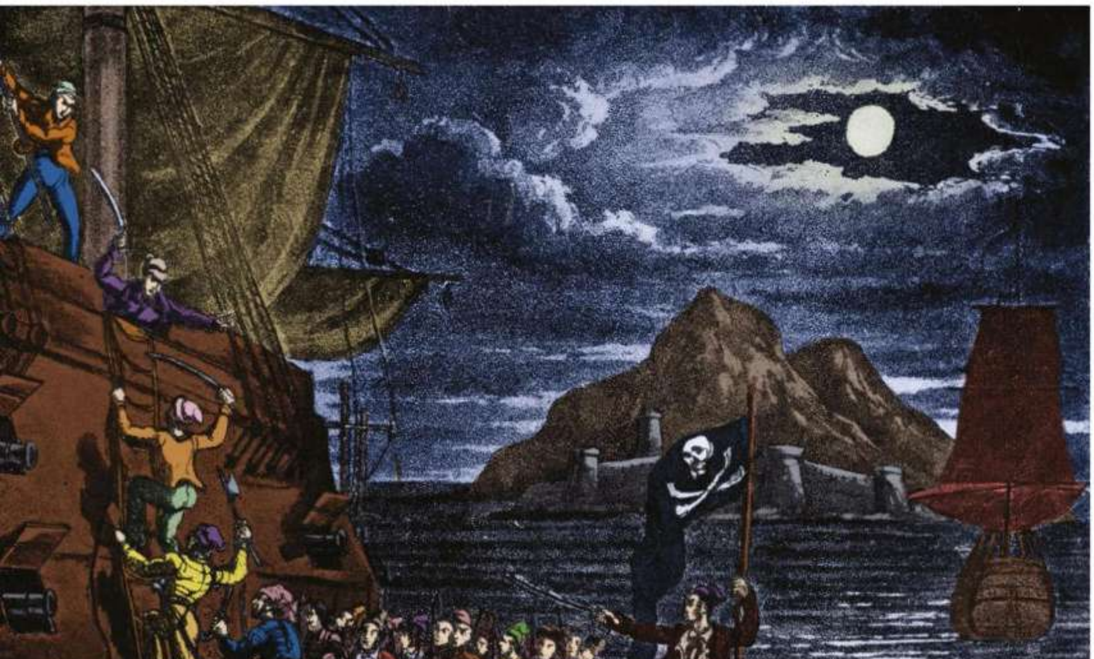
The island offered fresh fruit, meat and fresh water while Nassau's harbour was tailor-made for defence and the unloading of booty. It could take around 500 vessels, though it was too shallow to accept large battleships. With Hog Island splitting the harbour into two inlets, it was also difficult to blockade. The surrounding region, meanwhile, offered plenty of protection amid its waterways and no sensible captain would sail these waters without an experienced pilot at the helm.

Buccaneers had long recognised New Providence's strategic importance, though it came into its own when selected as the base of operations by the privateer-turned-pirate Benjamin Hornigold in 1713. Hornigold, along with his great rival Henry Jennings, became the unofficial overlord of a veritable pirate republic, which played host to the self-styled Flying Gang.

In truth, however, New Providence had suffered greatly during the War of the Spanish Succession and had witnessed Spanish incursions during 1703, 1704 and 1706. By the time Hornigold had set his sights on the island, there was only a skeleton settlement in the town of Nassau, and Thomas Walker was the island's only remaining appointed official. Though the evidence is hard to come by, it appears that he was acting in the role of deputy governor upon Hornigold's arrival and he did not take kindly to the pirates' presence.

ABOVE Full-on naval battles were typically avoided by pirate crews and captains

BELOW Pirates attempt to board a vessel under the cover of darkness



He took it upon himself to stand up to the buccaneers and, calling for reinforcements, he penned copious letters to anyone and everyone, sending missives to the proprietors of Bahaman estates, the lords of the admiralty and the press, informing them of the growing pirate menace operating from his island. He whipped up a huge amount of interest and concern, with the acting governor of Bermuda, Henry Pulleine, writing to officials in London that the Bahamas had become a veritable "nest of pyrates".

Walker, meanwhile, who lived a few miles from Nassau with his freed black wife and their children, set about planning an attack on the Bahaman pirates. Sailing against the men on Harbour Island, due east of New Providence, he captured the pirate Daniel Stillwell, a number of his associates and the pirate ship Happy Return. His luck ran out, however, and while Walker was away on business Hornigold freed Stillwell and hatched his own plan in a bid to rid New Providence of Walker and his troublesome ways. This was a key moment in the history of the island, for with Walker out of the way there would be no opposition to the Flying Gang, who would rule the Bahamas as they saw fit.

According to a deposition given in Charleston by Walker's son, Thomas Jr, the young man ran into Hornigold in late 1715 in the port of Nassau and the pirate told him that his father was a "troublesome old fart" and that if he did not desist from his meddling ways, Hornigold would murder him, burn his house to the ground and whip his family.

When, in December of that year, Hornigold captured the mighty Spanish warship that he vainly named Benjamin, it looked as though Walker had lost control. By the time Henry Jennings and his men sailed into Nassau in January 1716, their decks laden with Spanish treasure, a new age really had been born. A short while later, Hornigold refortified the harbour, refitting the old fort and arming it with cannons. Walker conceded defeat. He set sail for Charleston with his family, never to return. New Providence, to all intents and purposes, belonged to pirates.

According to Captain Johnson's original source, *A General History Of Pirates* (as it came to be known), by 1716 Nassau played home to not just Hornigold and Jennings, but also to the former's loyal lieutenant Edward 'Blackbeard' Teach, John Martel, Olivier La Buse, Charles Bellamy and Edward England, among many others. The island of New Providence also acted as a rendezvous for a clutch of other infamous pirates, including Stede Bonnet, Jack Rackam and the pirate women Mary Read and Anne Bonny.

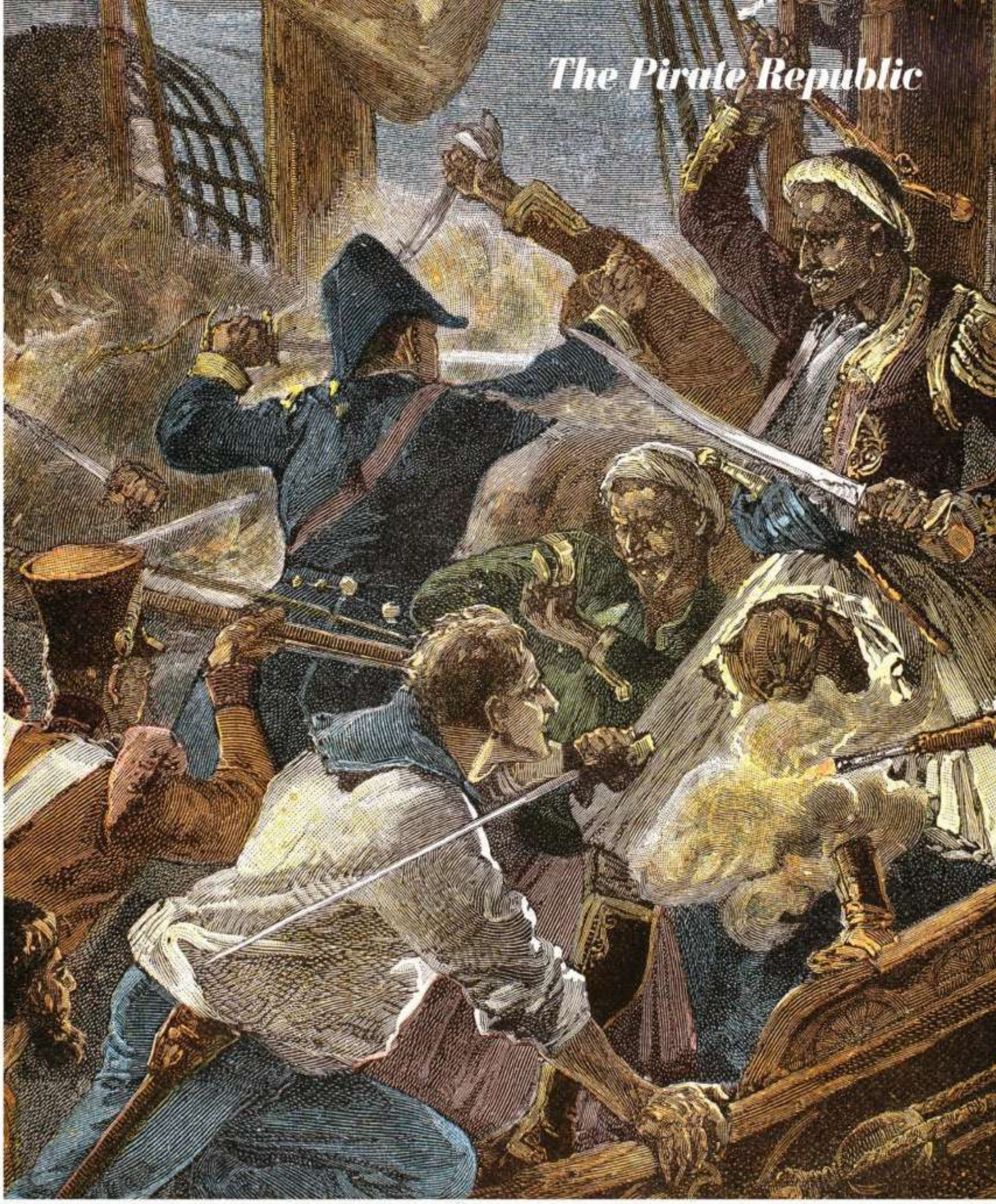
As 1716 wore on, the outlaw population on New Providence blossomed, boosted by log cutters from Campeche in Mexico and any number of the disaffected. The citizenry began to drift away, fearful of their treatment at the hands of the swaggering newcomers. One Thomas Barrow, the leader of the men that had worked on the Spanish wreckers, earned a nasty reputation for extorting the men and upsetting the island's women. Hundreds of tents and huts, houses and hovels sprung up as the pirates made the place their own. Wives and prostitutes moved in and alehouses did a roaring trade.

"When captured by pirates, many men switched sides"

The better homes in and around Nassau, meanwhile, were populated by the merchants and smugglers to whom the pirates sold their booty and with whom they traded for ammunition and other valuable supplies. However, even the traders were not always ensured safe passage around New Providence. Barrow is said to have robbed a brigantine from New England around this time and to have beaten up the master of a Bermudan trading vessel.

Still, the place was not entirely lawless. Generally, the pirates operated within the rules of an unwritten code of conduct, which ensured that their existence was

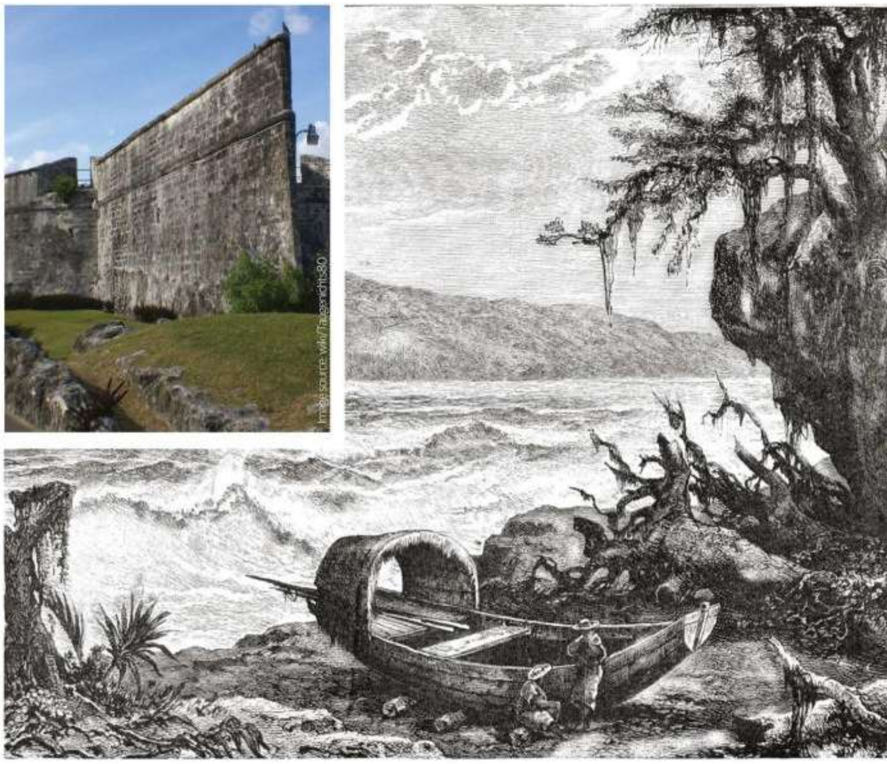
▶



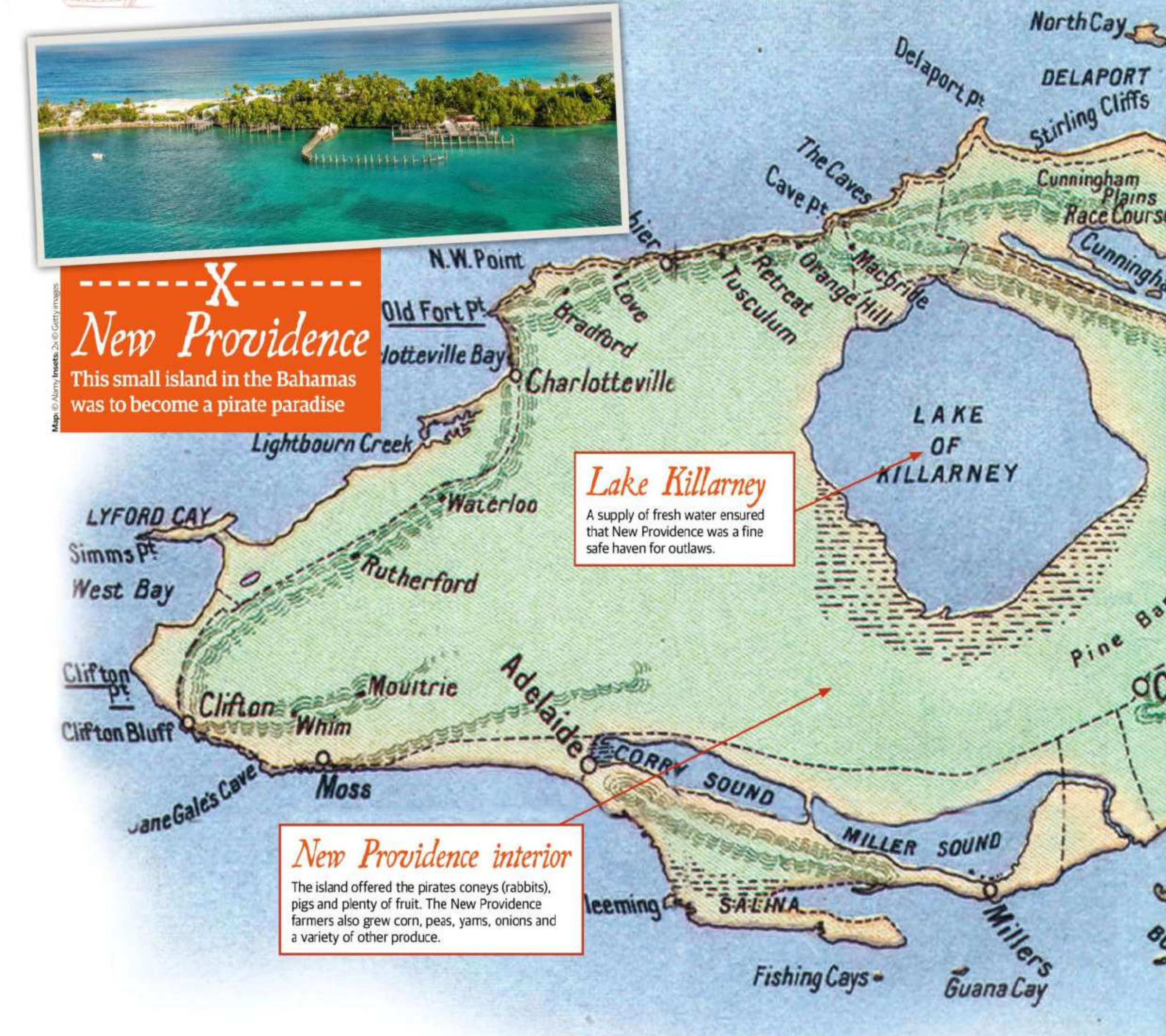
ABOVE All crewmembers on a pirate ship would fight for their share of the spoils

Image source: wiki/Tageslicht80

RIGHT-INSET The 18th-century Fort Fincastle overlooks the city of Nassau



RIGHT Tortuga, off the coast of Haiti, was also the site of a pirate base



N.W. Point
Old Fort Pt
lotteville Bay
Charlotteville
Lightbourn Creek
LYFORD CAY
Simms Pt
West Bay
Waterloo
Rutherford
Bradford
Love
Tusculum
Retreat
Orange Hill
Macbride
The Caves
Cave pt
Delaport pt
North Cay
DELAPORT
Stirling Cliffs
Cunningham
Plains
Race Course
LAKE OF KILLARNEY
Pine
Clifton Pt
Clifton Bluff
Clifton
Whim
Moss
Mouitrie
Adelaide
CORRY SOUND
MILLER SOUND
Millers
Jane Gale's Cave
leeming
SALINA
Fishing Cays
Guana Cay

Map: © Alamy Insets: 2x © Getty images

New Providence

This small island in the Bahamas was to become a pirate paradise

Lake Killarney

A supply of fresh water ensured that New Providence was a fine safe haven for outlaws.

New Providence interior

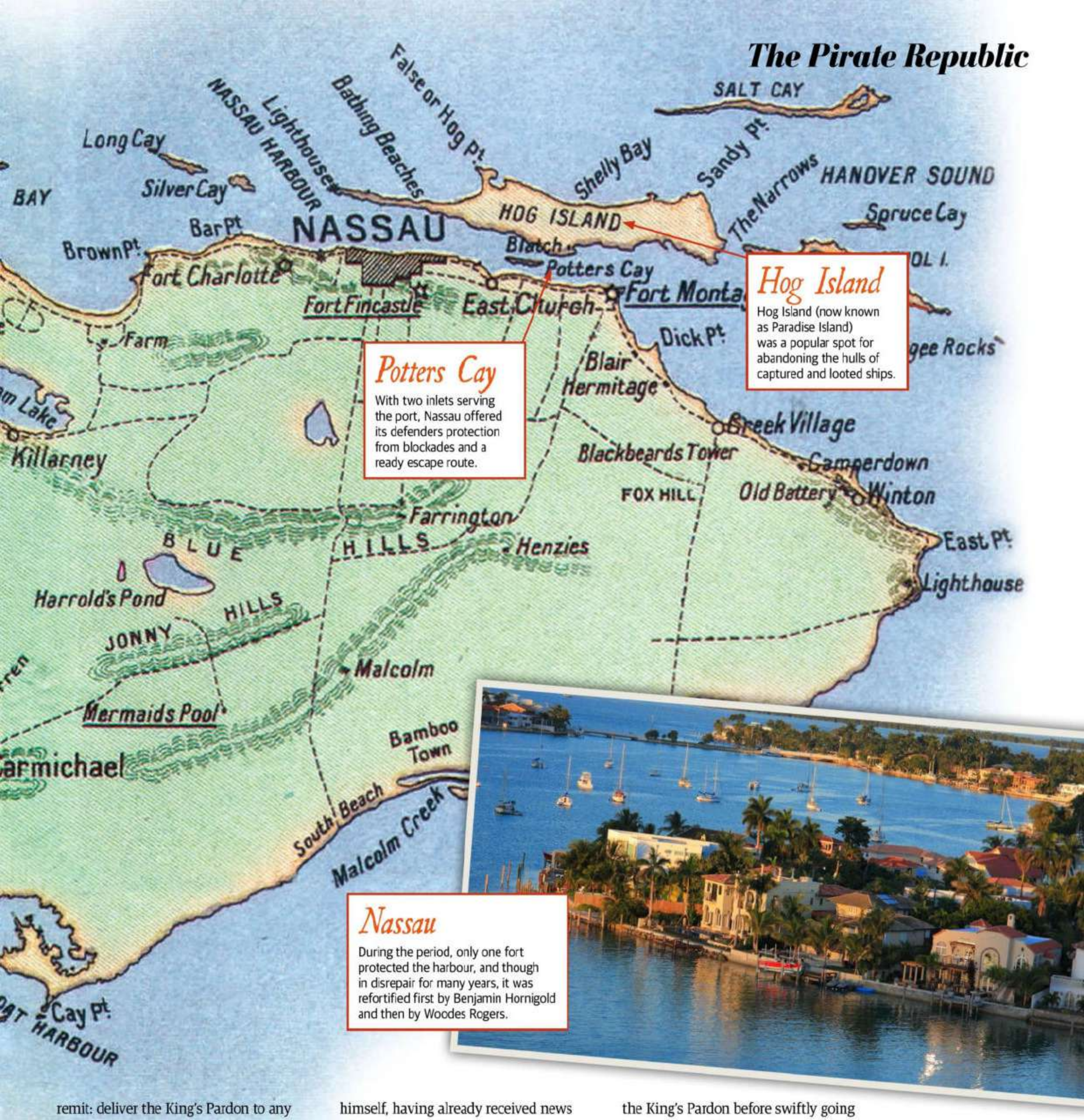
The island offered the pirates coneys (rabbits), pigs and plenty of fruit. The New Providence farmers also grew corn, peas, yams, onions and a variety of other produce.

the very best among sailors, and certainly more profitable and enjoyable than the life of a Royal Navy tar or a merchant. The Flying Gang came to elect their captains and, if they felt he had failed them, they could depose him. When in combat, the captain was granted full command but the majority of decisions, from deciding where to attack to choosing suitable punishments for transgressors, were made democratically by the ship's crew.

Prizes were split pretty evenly between all crew members, with the captain only taking a little more than his men and the cabin boy taking the smallest share. The crew also appointed a quartermaster to ensure that food and supplies were doled out equitably. Hornigold and Jennings were the pre-eminent pirate leaders, though some have written that Edward 'Blackbeard' Teach was appointed as a magistrate on the island. Whatever the truth of this claim, he certainly became a powerful pirate leader.

Such was the power of this pirate republic, and the damage it caused to the ships of all nations, the British authorities finally took a decisive course of action with a three-pronged plan of attack. First, the Royal Navy would dispatch three warships to Caribbean waters. Second, George I would offer the King's Pardon to any surrendering pirate, forgiving them for all piracies committed prior to January 1718. Third, the authorities would appoint Woodes Rogers as governor and garrison commander of the Bahamas with a precise

> "George I offered the King's Pardon to any surrendering pirate, forgiving their violent plundering"


SALT CAY
Long Cay
Lighthouse
NASSAU HARBOUR
Bathing Beaches
False or Hog Pt
Shelly Bay
Sandy Pt
The Narrows
HANOVER SOUND
BAY
Silver Cay
Spruce Cay
Bar Pt
NASSAU
HOG ISLAND
Blatch
Brown Pt
Fort Charlotte
Potters Cay
Fort Fincastle
East Church
Fort Monta
Dick Pt
gee Rocks
Farm
Blair
Hermitage
Lake
Greek Village
Killarney
Blackbeards Tower
Camperdown
FOX HILL
Old Battery
Winton
Farrington
BLUE
HILLS
Henzies
East Pt
Lighthouse
Harrold's Pond
JONNY
HILLS
Malcolm
Mermaids Pool
Bamboo Town
Carmichael
South Beach
Malcolm Creek
Cay Pt
HARBOUR

Potters Cay

With two inlets serving the port, Nassau offered its defenders protection from blockades and a ready escape route.

Hog Island

Hog Island (now known as Paradise Island) was a popular spot for abandoning the hulls of captured and looted ships.

Nassau

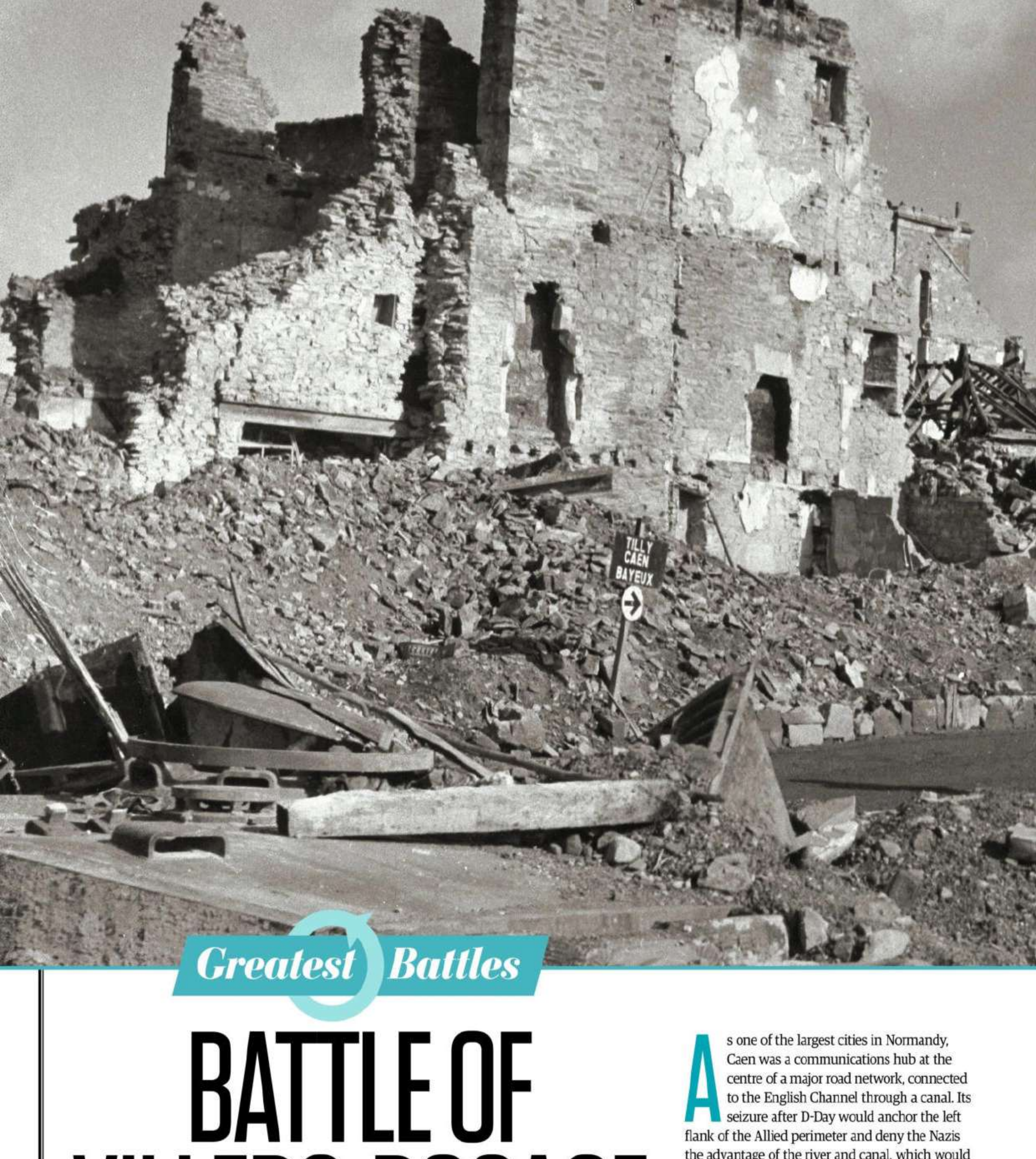
During the period, only one fort protected the harbour, and though in disrepair for many years, it was refortified first by Benjamin Hornigold and then by Woodes Rogers.

remit: deliver the King's Pardon to any who would accept. Those that did not were to be ruthlessly hunted down.

Rogers had already proven himself an able commander and had been a successful privateer himself, operating under the sponsorship of the mayor and corporation of Bristol. He arrived at New Providence in July 1718 on board the Delicia, a former East Indiaman, and was accompanied by the warships HMS Milford and HMS Rose along with the sloop-of-war Shark. In total, he brought seven armed ships and more than 500 men - more than enough, the authorities reckoned, to take down the republic of pirates. Several prominent figures, such as Hornigold himself, having already received news of the King's Pardon, decided to turn themselves in. Others, such as Charles Vane and Blackbeard, decided to fight on regardless.

Vane was holed up in Nassau upon Rogers' arrival but quickly fired his guns and fled, leaving the island to the new governor, who immediately set about reassuring the civilians and rebuilding the crumbling fort that overlooked the growing town. He recruited Benjamin Hornigold and Captain Cockram as pirate hunters and sent them after Vane. Though Vane eluded him, in October Hornigold caught up with a clutch of pirates on the island of Exuma. These men had accepted the King's Pardon before swiftly going back to their old ways. They included two notable men, John Augur, a former commander of the sloop Mary, and William Cunningham, who had been one of Blackbeard's gunners. Rogers hanged them, with a total of eight recidivists swinging on the gallows on the morning of December 12.

Rogers' arrival and his execution of these Nassau pirates did not bring an end to the age of buccaneering, but it terminated New Providence's position as a haven for outlaws and scoundrels. Though the likes of Blackbeard and Vane remained at large for a while, the Pirate Republic had breathed its final breath. ○



Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF VILLERS-BOCAGE

NORMANDY, FRANCE, 13 JUNE 1944

Written by Michael E Haskew

As one of the largest cities in Normandy, Caen was a communications hub at the centre of a major road network, connected to the English Channel through a canal. Its seizure after D-Day would anchor the left flank of the Allied perimeter and deny the Nazis the advantage of the river and canal, which would otherwise be major obstacles to the inland advance.

General Bernard Law Montgomery, commander of Allied ground forces in Normandy, envisioned the capture of Caen within hours of British forces storming ashore. However, stiff German resistance from the veteran 21st Panzer Division, the 12th SS Panzer Division Hitlerjugend and the 716th Infantry Division had stymied progress towards the city.

A week after the Normandy landings, Allied troops were slugging their way inland against fierce

October 1944: the village of Villers-Bocage still lies in ruins months after the fierce fighting

© Getty Images

German opposition, but Caen remained firmly under enemy control despite numerous efforts by British forces to take the city in a direct assault. For Montgomery, though, an opportunity had developed as the US 1st Infantry Division pushed southward from Omaha Beach, compelling German forces to retreat and opening a gap west of Caen between the 352nd Infantry Division and Panzer Lehr, a crack German armoured division.

OPERATION PERCH

Montgomery's staff altered Operation Perch - its plan for the early ground phase of the Normandy Campaign - hoping to take advantage of the recent development in the enemy's front line. A pincer movement might outflank Panzer Lehr and envelop Caen, forcing its stubborn German defenders to retreat or risk being surrounded. While the 51st (Highland) Infantry Division attacked in the east, the 7th Armoured Division - the 'Desert Rats' - was to swing south-eastward and capture the town of Villers-Bocage, just over 27km southwest of Caen, along with nearby high ground identified on maps as Point 213.

On 10 June, the refocused Operation Perch commenced with the advance of the 7th Armoured Division. Although some initial gains were made east of Caen, a counterattack from 21st Panzer stopped that British thrust. Still, the prospects for the western pincer's success remained.

As the 7th Armoured Division advanced, Major General Fritz Bayerlein realised the predicament his division faced and ordered a ferocious counterattack that bogged down the western drive around the village of Tilly-sur-Seulles. On the morning of 12 June, Lieutenant General Miles Dempsey, commander of the British Second Army, travelled to 7th Armoured headquarters to meet with Major General George 'Bobby' Erskine, the division commander, who suggested that Panzer Lehr might still be outflanked if 7th Armoured disengaged from the fight at Tilly-sur-Seulles and struck toward Villers-Bocage from further west.

ROLLING TOWARDS VILLERS-BOCAGE

Within hours, the 22nd Armoured Brigade - the vanguard of the Desert Rats - was on the move toward Villers-Bocage. As darkness fell around them, Brigadier Robert 'Looney' Hinde called a halt to the advance just eight kilometres from his objective. Early on the morning of 13 June,

An Allied Sherman recovery tank towing a crippled Sherman behind it during the Battle of Caen

© Getty

tanks of the 4th County of London Yeomanry and troops of Company A, 1st Battalion, The Rifle Brigade, rolled into Villers-Bocage against only token resistance.

Wary of a German counterattack, Brigadier Hinde ordered the tanks of A Squadron, County of London Yeomanry and Company A, The Rifle Brigade, to occupy Point 213. German reconnaissance vehicles had been spotted and enemy soldiers were seen making a hasty getaway in a staff car. Soon enough, the enemy would be coming back, and occupying Point 213 would invite a counterattack against the exposed position. Just after 9am, the leading elements of the 4th County of London Yeomanry and the accompanying infantry reached Point 213. Sentries were posted but their field of vision was limited due to the terrain and thick woods.

TIGERS UNLEASHED

On the morning of D-Day, two companies of Tigers from SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101 had reached the vicinity of Villers-Bocage. The 1st Company was under SS Hauptsturmführer (Captain) Rolf Möbius, and the 2nd Company was led by Obersturmführer (First Lieutenant) Michael Wittmann. Already a leading panzer ace and holder of the Knights Cross with Oak Leaves, Wittmann had well over 100 kills on the Eastern Front to his credit. The ensuing battle contributed to the growing legend that was Obersturmführer Wittmann.

Three Tiger tanks, those of Wittmann, SS Oberscharführer (Company Sergeant Major) Jürgen Brandt and SS Untersturmführer (2nd Lieutenant) Georg Hantusch, were seen advancing parallel to the British column along a path adjacent to the highway but screened by a tall hedgerow. As the other two Tigers attacked the British armour at Point 213, Wittmann emerged from a wooded area onto National Highway 175, where he destroyed a Cromwell at close range and then blasted a Sherman Firefly, its blazing hulk blocking the British column. In short order, the Tiger's 88mm gun and its two 7.92mm MG 34 machine guns destroyed eight halftracks and four troop carriers.

STRUGGLE IN THE STREETS

Wittmann then rolled down the Rue Georges Clémenceau towards the eastern edge of Villers-Bocage. Three M5 Stuart light tanks of the 4th County of London Yeomanry Reconnaissance Troop, their 37mm guns no match for the thick armour protecting the Tiger, were stationed at the intersection with the road to Tilly-sur-Seulles.

Lieutenant Rex Ingram ordered the driver of his 15-ton Stuart into the road - directly in the path of Wittmann's oncoming Tiger – in an attempt to delay the German tank's advance into the town. A single 88mm round caused the British tank to erupt in flames. The Tiger shunted the blazing wreck aside and blasted at least one more of the light tanks.

Wittmann then directed his Tiger down the main thoroughfare where four Cromwells of the regimental headquarters came into view. The first Cromwell, commanded by the regimental executive officer, Major Arthur Carr, was damaged and attempted to back out of the line of fire. Two more British tanks, under Lieutenant John L Cloudsley-Thompson and Regimental Sergeant Major Gerald Holloway, were both destroyed.

As Cloudsley-Thompson's crew bailed out of its burning Cromwell, Captain Pat Dyas, the regimental adjutant, reversed his tank and backed ponderously into a garden, obscured from Wittmann's view. The action had developed so rapidly that Dyas's gunner, away from the vehicle on a nature call, had no time to return to the tank. Positioned for a killing shot, Dyas was powerless to act as the big Tiger rumbled past, its broadside completely exposed to him.

Continuing down the Rue Georges Clémenceau, Wittmann spotted two observation post tanks of the 5th Royal Horse Artillery as they tried to avoid contact, backing around a corner into the Rue Pasteur. The Sherman commanded by Major Dennis Wells was quite defenceless, mounting a wooden decoy gun rather than a real main weapon. Captain

A Waffen SS MG42 and Panther tank take up defensive positions around Caen, ready to repel the Allied advance

© Alamy

Paddy Victory continued backing his Cromwell into a side street behind the Sherman at the rear entrance to the Hotel du Bras d'Or. A moment later, Wells's tank was blown up by an 88mm shell from Wittmann's Tiger. Captain Victory tried to escape, but his transmission gears locked up. As Wittmann passed by, the Cromwell crew grasped a fleeting hope that they had remained unseen. But the Tiger stopped, reversed for a moment, then pumped a round into the British tank just below its turret. The crew bailed out, but Captain Victory returned to the disabled Cromwell and destroyed its interior.

While Wittmann shot up these British tanks and moved steadily westward towards the centre of Villers-Bocage, Lieutenant Charles Pearce escaped from the area in a scout car and alerted B Squadron to the presence of the marauding Tiger on the other side of the town. After winning a momentary reprieve, Captain Dyas began tracking Wittmann through the streets of Villers-Bocage.

Lockwood was the first British tanker to hear Lieutenant Pearce's alarm; he turned his Firefly from the Place Jeanne d'Arc onto the Rue Georges Clémenceau and got the drop on Wittmann, firing a 17-pounder shell that inflicted slight damage on the Tiger. In turn, Wittmann swerved into a brick wall causing it to collapse onto Lockwood's Sherman.

Wittmann knew that other B Squadron tanks were closing in and proceeded only a few yards before the crash of a shell caused the Tiger to lurch to a halt in front of the Huet-Godefroy clothing store. Fired from an alley between the Rue Jeanne Bacon and Boulevard Joffre, the anti-tank round disabled a drive sprocket. Wittmann and his crew abandoned their Tiger, expecting that it might be recovered later.

CHAOS AT POINT 213

While Wittmann was devastating the British armour in Villers-Bocage, Brandt and Hantusch drove on to Point 213 and added to the carnage. Within the hour, a third Tiger, commanded by Unterscharführer Kurt Sowa, joined the assault and by 10am reconnaissance troops and armoured vehicles of the 4th Panzer Company, SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101 reached the one-sided battle. Half an hour later, the Germans were rounding up scores of prisoners and consolidating their hold on National Highway 175 between Villers-Bocage and Point 213.

A short time after Wittmann's arrival at Chateau d'Orbois, Captain Helmut Ritgen was moving to block potential British routes of advance north of Villers-Bocage. Ritgen soon ran into some intense fire from concealed anti-tank guns, lost one PzKpfw IV and was ordered to regroup near Villers-Bocage. Subsequently, he sent four tanks roaring in from the south, while ten more renewed their advance along Rue Georges Clémenceau. The British claimed a pair of PzKpfw IVs. Around 1pm, Panzer Lehr's armour tried to take the town again, losing two more PzKpfw IVs in the process.

British and German infantrymen fought street-to-street and house-to-house, before the defenders

BRITISH ARMY: 22ND ARMOURED BRIGADE

MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE ERSKINE

While the poor performance in Normandy would see Erskine lose his command, he still managed to regain trust and important roles in the war effort as Head of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force Mission to Belgium and later GOC 43rd Infantry Division.

N 814
CAEN
CENTRE

IMPORTANCE OF CAEN

Both the Allies and Germans identified the city of Caen as vital to the Normandy invasion. For the Germans it could be the launching ground for a counterattack, for the Allies a means of defending its landing parties on the beaches.

3x Image source: wiki/Imperial War Museums

SCRAMBLE TO ATTRITION

The failure to secure Villers-Bocage for the Allies meant the 'scramble for ground' following D-Day was over and a more attritional battle for territory became the new normal for the Allies in Normandy.

GERMAN ARMY: SS HEAVY TANK BATTALION 101

Image source: German Federal Archive

MAJOR GENERAL FRITZ BAYERLEIN

Starting as a staff officer along with Erwin Rommel in the Afrika Korps, Major General Fritz Bayerlein went on to command Panzer divisions in Europe. He was among the German troops who managed to escape the Falaise Pocket, but ultimately surrendered to Allied forces in the Ruhr Pocket in 1945.

Image source: wiki/Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe

SS OBERSTURMFÜHRER MICHAEL WITTMANN

Wittmann's prowess as a tank commander has made him something of a cult figure, especially among those who still venerate Nazism, but he was ultimately killed not long after these events in an Allied ambush.

pulled back to positions along the edge of town. A British roadblock in the centre of Villers-Bocage concealed several six-pounder anti-tank guns, at least one Sherman Firefly and several Cromwells, which lay in wait for any German tanks advancing towards the town square.

While the initial Panzer Lehr forays into Villers-Bocage were rebuffed, Wittmann sped back towards Point 213 and conferred with Möbius prior to a renewed effort against the town. Möbius then moved his Tigers into Villers-Bocage along the Rue d'Evrecy and linked up with the remaining PzKpfw IVs of Panzer Lehr near the town.

The German commanders distributed their tanks to attack from multiple directions, but by the time the combined assault commenced, the British were waiting in ambush. As the lead Tiger trundled down National Highway 175 into the town, a nearby Firefly unleashed a 17-pounder shell that missed. Quickly after, a six-pounder gun found the mark and knocked out the big tank.

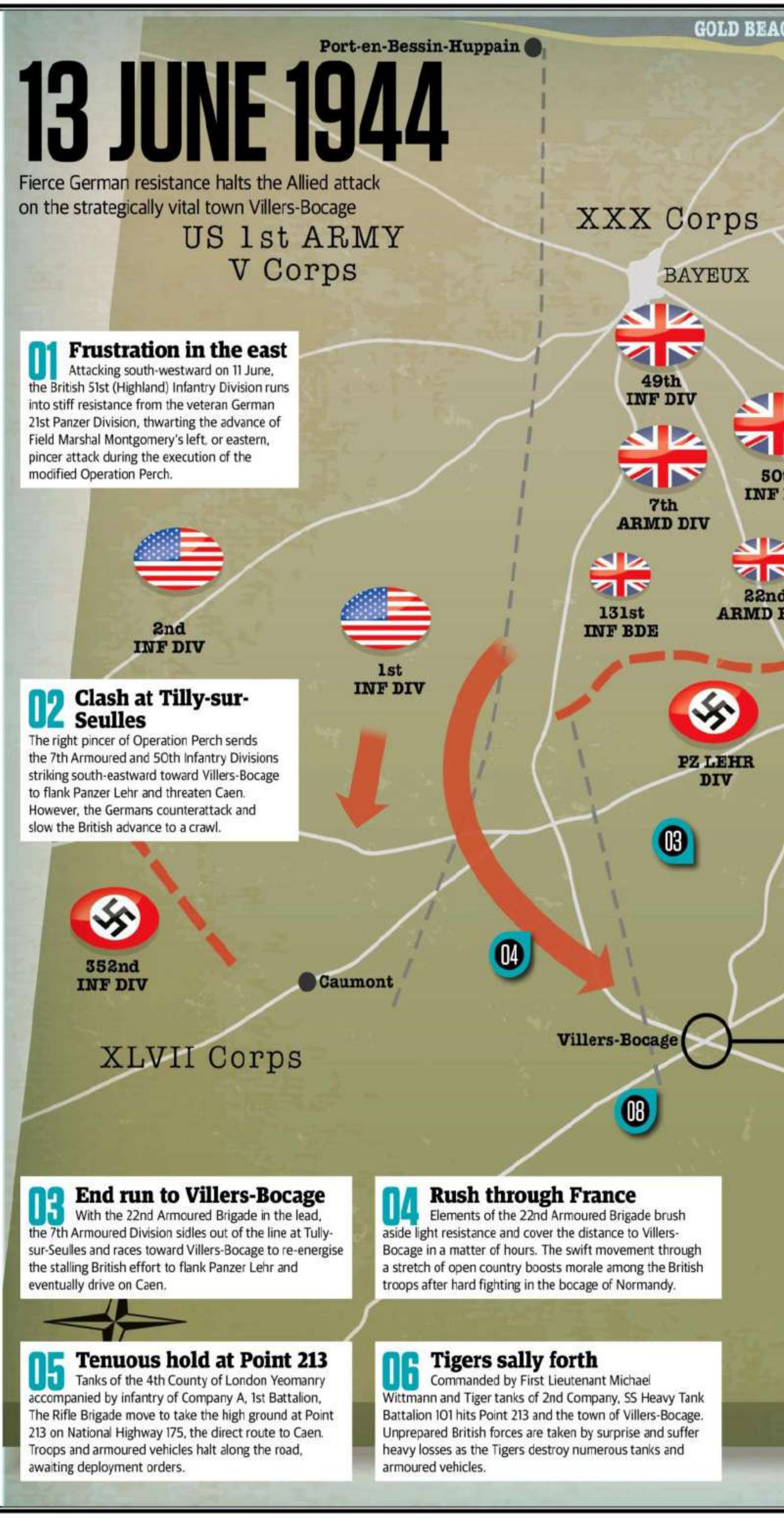
Immediately, three more Tigers came into view, veering away in an attempt to outflank the British positions and the fight developed into a bushwhacking melee reminiscent of something from the Wild West.

By 6pm the enemy had advanced close to the 1/7th Battalion headquarters and reluctantly, the decision was made to withdraw from the town. Under a covering barrage from the 5th Royal Horse Artillery and the heavy guns of the US V Corps, the British pulled back. The Germans harassed their movement until well after dark.

Artillery of the US 1st Infantry Division helped to beat back the initial German thrusts, but simultaneous attacks in the afternoon succeeded in breaching the defensive box and rendering artillery support useless. Just as the German assault threatened the 22nd Armoured Brigade headquarters, it was finally beaten back. The 22nd Armoured Brigade was pulled back and consolidated with the Allied line to the north and west, effectively ending the British bid for Villers-Bocage.

In the aftermath of the battle, the capabilities of the British field commanders, including Brigadier Hinde, Major General Erskine and Lieutenant General GC Bucknall commanding XXX Corps, were debated. The tactical deployment of the 22nd Armoured Brigade was questioned and the troops of the 50th Division were not the only potential reinforcements available. None of these commanders made a formal request for support from the 50th Division or any other units that might have intervened.

Equally, Dempsey and Montgomery cannot escape some responsibility. Both senior commanders seemed uncharacteristically detached, failing to assert strong leadership and decision-making during the fight. Within weeks of the disastrous failed offensive, Hinde, Erskine, and Bucknall were relieved of command. Dempsey later admitted that "the whole handling of the battle was a disgrace".



13 JUNE 1944

Fierce German resistance halts the Allied attack on the strategically vital town Villers-Bocage

01 Frustration in the east

Attacking south-westward on 11 June, the British 51st (Highland) Infantry Division runs into stiff resistance from the veteran German 21st Panzer Division, thwarting the advance of Field Marshal Montgomery's left, or eastern, pincer attack during the execution of the modified Operation Perch.

02 Clash at Tilly-sur-Seulles

The right pincer of Operation Perch sends the 7th Armoured and 50th Infantry Divisions striking south-eastward toward Villers-Bocage to flank Panzer Lehr and threaten Caen. However, the Germans counterattack and slow the British advance to a crawl.

03 End run to Villers-Bocage

With the 22nd Armoured Brigade in the lead, the 7th Armoured Division sidles out of the line at Tully-sur-Seulles and races toward Villers-Bocage to re-energise the stalling British effort to flank Panzer Lehr and eventually drive on Caen.

04 Rush through France

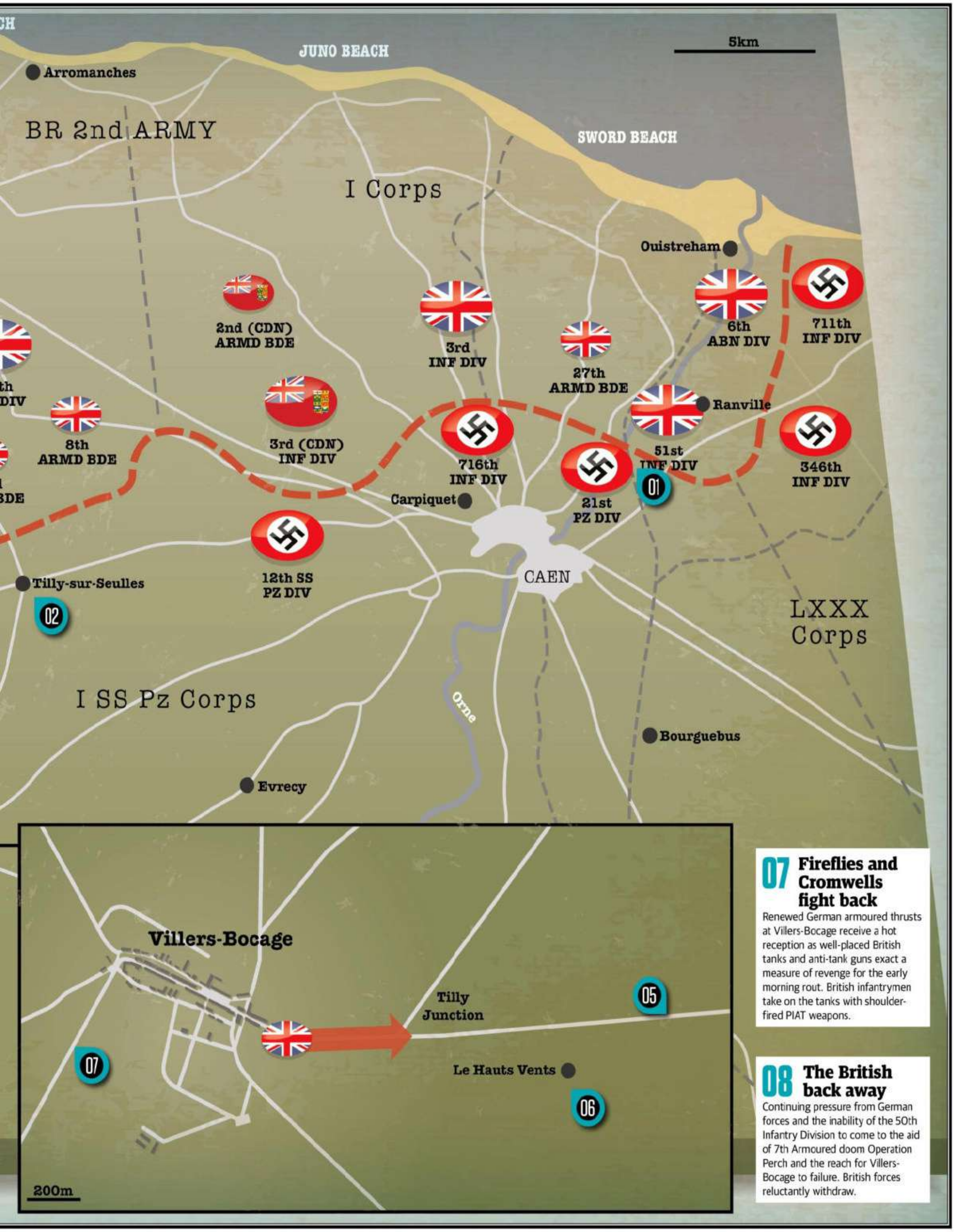
Elements of the 22nd Armoured Brigade brush aside light resistance and cover the distance to Villers-Bocage in a matter of hours. The swift movement through a stretch of open country boosts morale among the British troops after hard fighting in the bocage of Normandy.

05 Tenuous hold at Point 213

Tanks of the 4th County of London Yeomanry accompanied by infantry of Company A, 1st Battalion, The Rifle Brigade move to take the high ground at Point 213 on National Highway 175, the direct route to Caen. Troops and armoured vehicles halt along the road, awaiting deployment orders.

06 Tigers sally forth

Commanded by First Lieutenant Michael Wittmann and Tiger tanks of 2nd Company, SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101 hits Point 213 and the town of Villers-Bocage. Unprepared British forces are taken by surprise and suffer heavy losses as the Tigers destroy numerous tanks and armoured vehicles.


JUNO BEACH
5km
Arromanches
BR 2nd ARMY
SWORD BEACH
I Corps
Ouistreham
2nd (CDN) ARMD BDE
3rd INF DIV
27th ARMD BDE
6th ABN DIV
711th INF DIV
8th ARMD BDE
3rd (CDN) INF DIV
716th INF DIV
Ranville
51st INF DIV
346th INF DIV
01
21st PZ DIV
Carpiquet
12th SS PZ DIV
CAEN
Tilly-sur-Seulles
02
LXXX Corps
I SS Pz Corps
Orne
Bourguebus
Evrecy
Villers-Bocage
Tilly Junction
05
07
Le Hauts Vents
06
200m

07 Fireflies and Cromwells fight back

Renewed German armoured thrusts at Villers-Bocage receive a hot reception as well-placed British tanks and anti-tank guns exact a measure of revenge for the early morning rout. British infantrymen take on the tanks with shoulder-fired PIAT weapons.

08 The British back away

Continuing pressure from German forces and the inability of the 50th Infantry Division to come to the aid of 7th Armoured doom Operation Perch and the reach for Villers-Bocage to failure. British forces reluctantly withdraw.

What If...

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAD LOST?

The communist takeover of China in 1949 helped shape the Cold War and the modern world, but what if they'd lost?

Written by Callum McKelvie

INTERVIEW WITH

ELIZABETH J PERRY

Elizabeth J Perry is the Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government at Harvard University. Among her works are *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations Of Adaptive Government In China* and her forthcoming co-edited volume *Ruling By Other Means: State-Mobilized Movements.*

What was the situation in China leading up to the communist takeover in 1949?

China, on the eve of the communist takeover, was in terrible shape. The ruling KMT [Nationalist Party] government had descended into corruption on many levels and there was galloping inflation. China, of course, had been very hard hit by the Japanese invasion that began in the late-1930s. That had ended only in 1945 and so it was still a war-torn country, impoverished, with tremendous inequality, political disorder and poor public health. There was a great deal of unhappiness on the part of many different sectors of the population with respect to the KMT regime. Initially, when the nationalists unified China in 1927-1928, there was considerable hope that they would really usher in a kind of new age for China. However, after the Japanese invasion more and more people, including the intelligentsia, as well as the peasantry, went over to the communist side, for patriotic as well as pragmatic reasons. There was a realization that the Nationalists were not fighting the Japanese or managing the economy effectively, and that the country was in danger of permanently losing its sovereignty.

Who was Mao Zedong and the CCP?

Mao came from Hunan Province in the heartland of China and was born in what he later characterised as a rich peasant family. He was educated primarily in a traditional Chinese way with Chinese classics, which helps explain why he later became a very successful poet as well as an essayist. While working as a librarian at Peking University, he felt that he was looked down upon by the more elite Chinese intellectuals because he retained certain peasant-like traits. The primary co-founders of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] were two other intellectuals active at Peking University at the same time. One was the director of the library, Li Dazhao, and the other was the dean, Chen Duxiu. Due in part to their invitation, Mao attended the founding of the party in 1921. His first assignment was to organise workers in his native Hunan Province, but he quickly realised that the peasantry more than the workers were going to have to be the main social force of revolution and he became the head of the peasant bureau. Mao was not recognised as the paramount leader of the Chinese Communist Party until the Long March that took the communists out of their Jiangxi Soviet base all the way up to the northwest to Yan'an in Shaanxi Province. It was during this period (1930s-1940s) that Mao began to articulate what we think of as Maoism - a distinctive recipe for revolution focused on peasant mobilisation and guerrilla warfare against an overwhelming enemy.

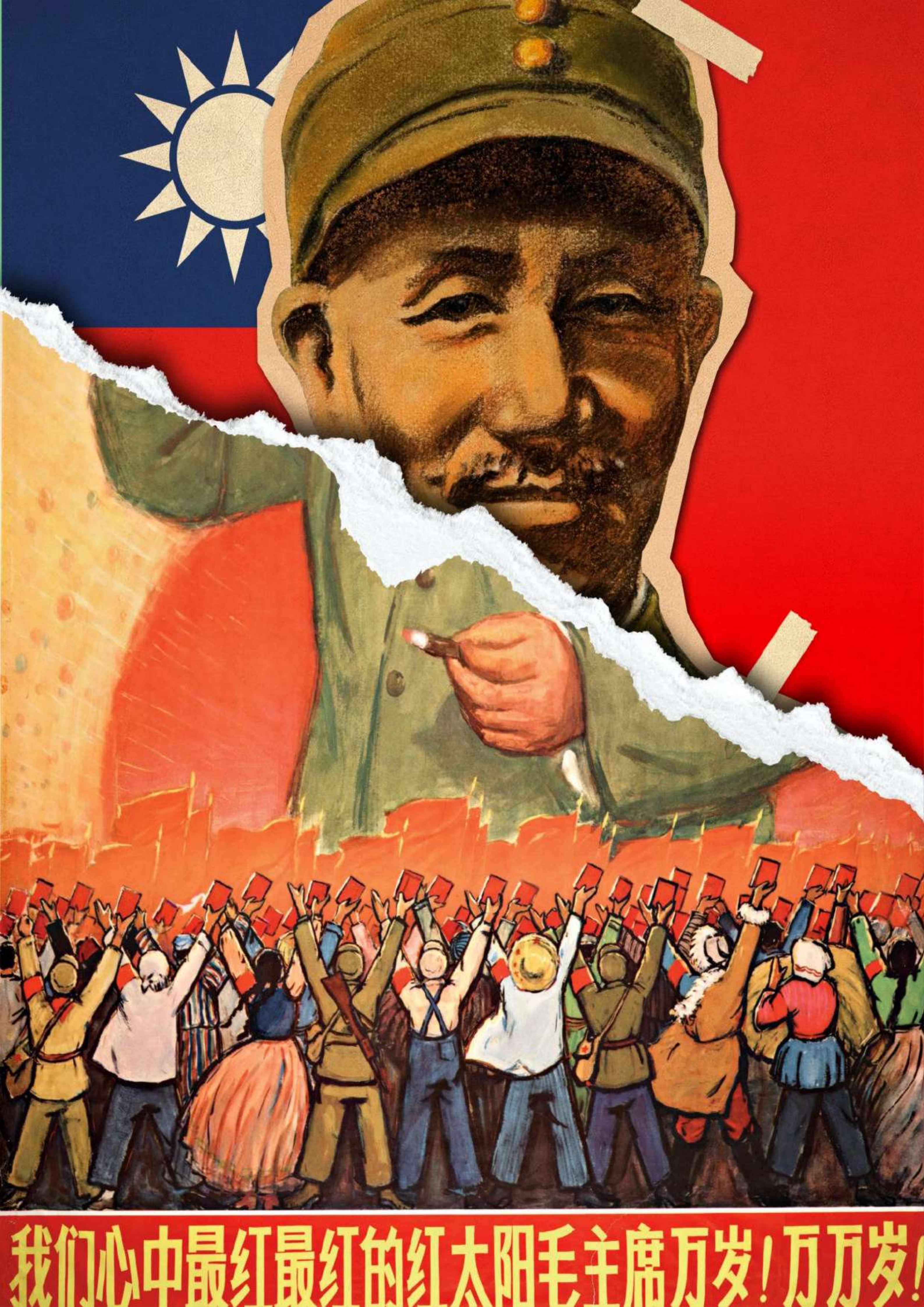
Who exactly were their main opponents, the KMT?

The KMT, also known as the Nationalists, trace their roots back to activists in the 1911 revolution that brought down China's last imperial dynasty. The KMT established its capital in Nanjing in 1927 after defeating warlords who

A Chinese communist rally in 1932

Image sources: wiki/Flickr

Main image sources: wiki/The National Archives, 2x © Getty Images


我们心中最红最红的红太阳毛主席万岁！万万岁！

THE PAST

1949

COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

Following four years of civil war in China, the CCP took control. After the CCP's formation in 1921, the massacre of many of its members by the nationalists in 1927 and years of tenuous partnerships with those same groups, the nationalists were forced to flee. Following this there were numerous executions as Mao asserted his authority.

1958-1960

THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

A campaign launched in 1958 by Mao to bring industry to the countryside, which included, among other things, 'backyard furnaces' to help steel output. Misguided policies such as 'sparrowcide' (massacring all sparrows to protect crops, not taking into account the insects they eat) and a desire by local officials to complete quotas (collecting 'surpluses' that did not exist) led to widespread famine.

Image source: wiki/ Li Jiuing

1960

SINO-SOVIET SPLIT

Following the death of Stalin, Nikita Krushchev lead the Soviet Union. Due to tensions between himself and Chairman Mao, he withdrew all technical aid and support from China.

1966-1976

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Following the Great Leap Forward, Mao stepped down from his position of power. However in 1966 he called on the youth to rebel against capitalist and traditionalist movements in society – while simultaneously removing his enemies from within the CCP. Numerous intellectuals were tortured and killed, with the figures ranging anywhere from hundreds of thousands to 20 million.

Image source: wiki/Tsering Dorjee

ABOVE KMT troops leaving Canton following defeat

ruled China at the time. By this point, the head of the KMT was Chiang Kai-shek. In cooperation with members of secret societies in the industrial city of Shanghai, he brutally attacked the communist labour movement there in the spring of 1927. This was an important turning point in the history of Chinese communism, causing the communists to move out of the cities into the countryside. So the KMT were opponents, but also periodic allies of the Chinese communists, having jointly fought warlords in the 1920s and allying again during World War II to fight the Japanese. This second united front broke down toward the end of WWII, and after the Japanese withdrawal the communists engaged in civil war against the nationalists from 1945 to 1949.

How did the CCP finally gain control?

It was a two-fold process. On the one hand, the Communist Party was gaining more and more territory in the countryside. The Long March had begun as a defeat. However, after the Japanese invaded, the communists began to develop a successful guerrilla warfare strategy and gained increasingly more territory. At the same time the Japanese invasion helped to unravel the KMT. Corruption was rife in the KMT during World War II. Funds that were supposed to go toward fighting actually went into the pockets of various KMT leaders. By the end of World War II, the tables had turned and the communists gained the upper hand. The communists were able to gain control because of the implosion of the KMT, which proved unable to control the economy and unite the different warring factions within the Nationalist Party. The Battle of Huai-hai in 1948 was a critical juncture, after which a number of soldiers defected from the KMT side and went over to the communist side.

What were some of the immediate effects of the communist takeover?

The communists carried out dramatic changes in the cities and countryside: land reform in the villages, socialisation of industry in the factories, thought reform in the universities. These were conducted as mass campaigns in which ordinary citizens were mobilized by the state to help implement its radical agenda. The campaigns were violent, with millions of landlords, rich peasants, KMT sympathisers, Japanese 'puppets', bandits, secret society members, sectarians, and other 'enemies of the people' killed. But inflation was brought under control and public order was largely restored through a series of draconian disciplinary measures. By the late 1950s, people were subject to

> "Millions of landlords, rich peasants and other 'enemies of the people' were killed"

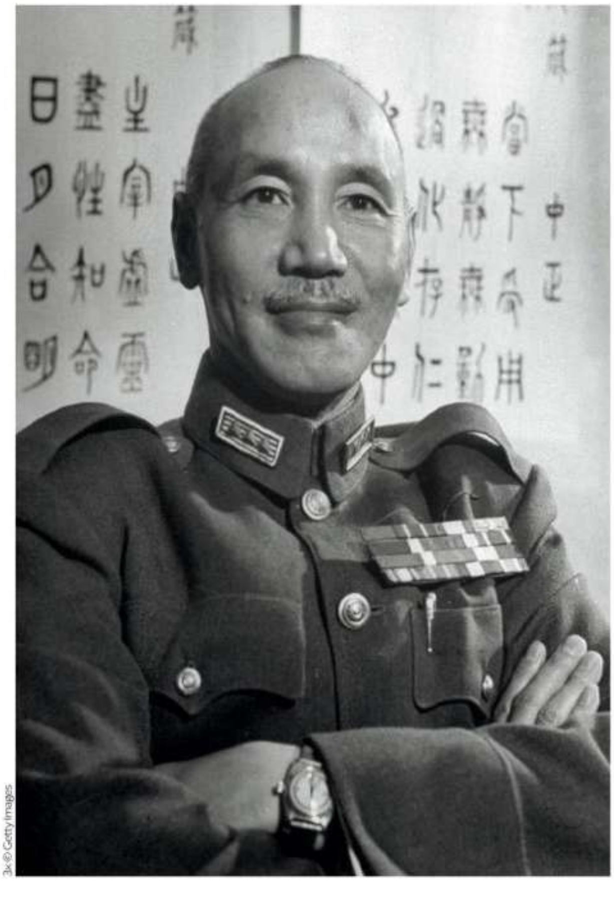
a household registration system that severely limited mobility. Class labels were imposed to divide the population into 'good' classes like peasants and workers and 'bad' classes like landlords and rich peasants. It was a very, very different society from what China had looked like before the revolution.

Were there any points when the communists could have failed?
Before the outbreak of World War II, very few people would have expected a communist takeover in China. Had Chiang Kai-shek managed to tame the factional struggles within the KMT or to curb the rampant inflation and corruption, things could have gone very differently. Had the Japanese not invaded, it would surely have been a very different timetable if not an entirely different outcome. There was nothing preordained about the victory of the communist revolution, from 1921 when the CCP was founded until 1949 when it took over the mainland.

What could some of the effects for China have been had the communists been defeated?
Had the KMT managed to eliminate the communist threat during the civil war you might have seen a somewhat less coercive government, simply by virtue of the fact it was less powerful than the communists. But my guess is what would have happened is China would have limped along for a very substantial period of time. We can look at Taiwan and say, "Oh well, because Chiang Kai-shek set up a very successful regime he would have done the same on the mainland," but I think that's a very implausible comparison. Much of the reason the KMT was able to reform itself on Taiwan was precisely because it had just suffered such a disastrous defeat and had to reconsider everything. Had the KMT remained in power on the mainland, there would surely have been a lot of loss of life through neglect, disease, poverty, political disorder and so forth. However, you would likely not have seen the executions nor a famine of the sort that occurred under Mao during the Great Leap Forward. When Mao broke with the Soviet Union and tried to apply his own guerrilla tactics to develop the countryside, China experienced the worst famine in all of history, with tens of millions dying of starvation. But you would probably have seen the continuation for many years of all of those problems that had existed before the communist revolution.

ABOVE Mao Zedong declaring the birth of communist China

BELOW Leader of the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek



3x © Getty Images

What could some of the effects have been globally had the communists not succeeded?
Had the communists not won, the Soviet Union would not have been China's closest ally in the 1950s. The Cold War would obviously have been very different had the US and China remained allies. But surely the Soviets would have aided remnant communists and other would-be revolutionaries seeking to take advantage of KMT weakness. So it's hard to imagine that a communist loss in the civil war with the KMT would have ushered in a peaceful or stable situation.

THE POSSIBILITY

1949-1975

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND TAIWAN

The leader of the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek immediately moved the government to Taiwan where he resumed his duties as President of the Republic of China. He consistently claimed sovereignty over all of China, as well as making preparations to retake the mainland. Kai-shek would finance insurgent groups and plan a full-scale invasion in 1962. While ruling Taiwan, he purged the party of what he saw as corrupt elements. In the 1950s American aid and a land-reform act led to the island becoming economically prosperous. This has led historians to wonder what the possible changes Kai-shek would have instigated had he been able to once again seize control of the mainland.

Image source: wiki/ Tayvanli Adlar ve Siyasetçi

1949-1997

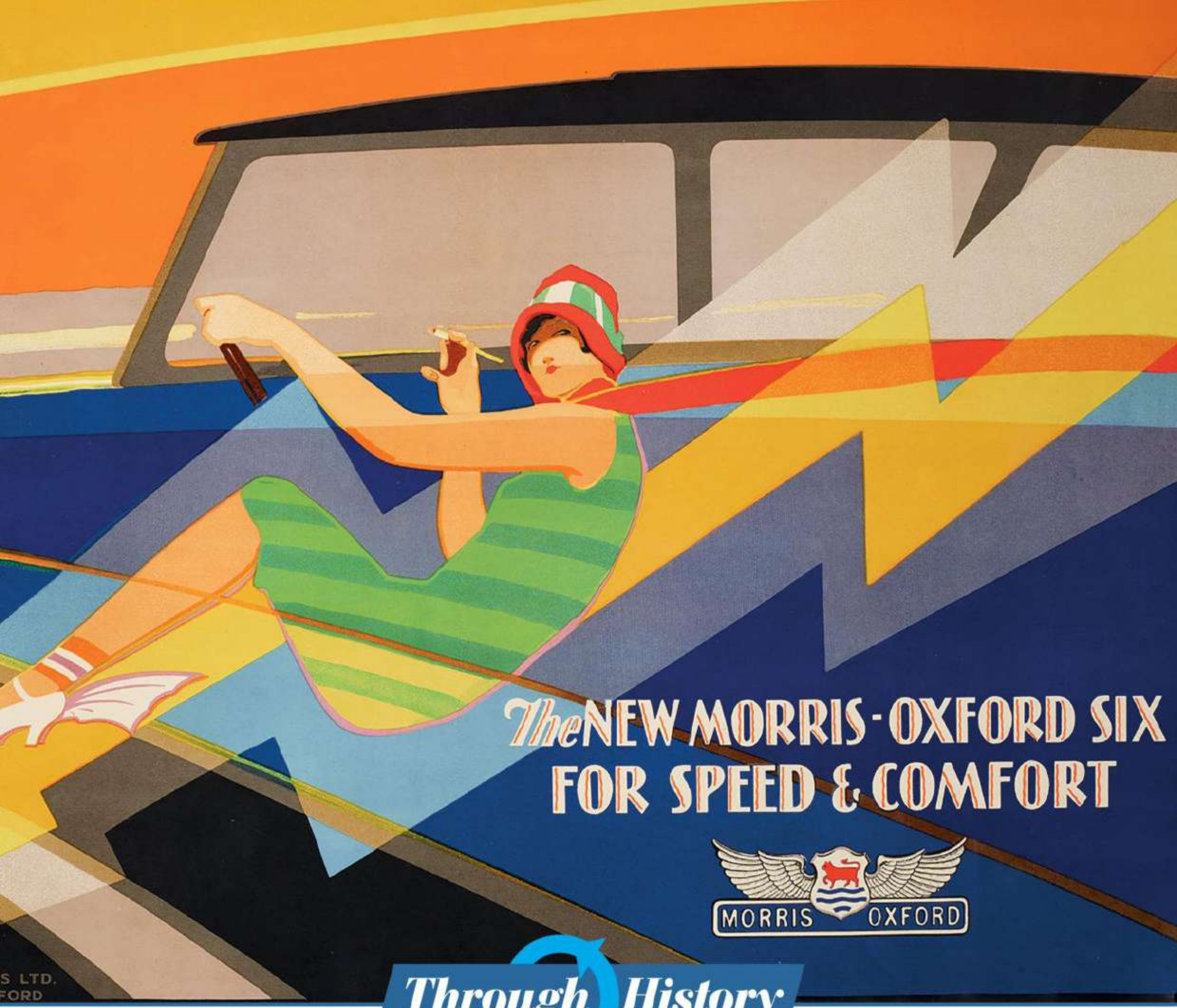
HONG KONG

Until 1997, Hong Kong remained under the rule of the British. Large numbers of refugees from China fled from the mainland during the initial communist takeover in 1949 and further numbers fled following the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution. Hong Kong's history is intertwined with its British rule – had the KMT been able to win the civil war, it is possible it would have been returned to Chinese rule earlier.

1950s & 1960s

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USA DURING THE COLD WAR

Chinese relations with the USA throughout the period of the Cold War were initially tense, having a much closer bond with the Soviet Union. The Korean War, Taiwan Strait Crisis, Vietnam War and Chinese atomic tests were just some of the events which led to a steady escalating of tensions throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Although relations improved in the 1970s, due in part to the Sino-Soviet Split, these earlier aggressions greatly affected the nature of the Cold War, particularly when China too became a nuclear power. Had the US allied more closely with a capitalist China, it is likely that the Cold War could have taken a vastly different path.



Through History

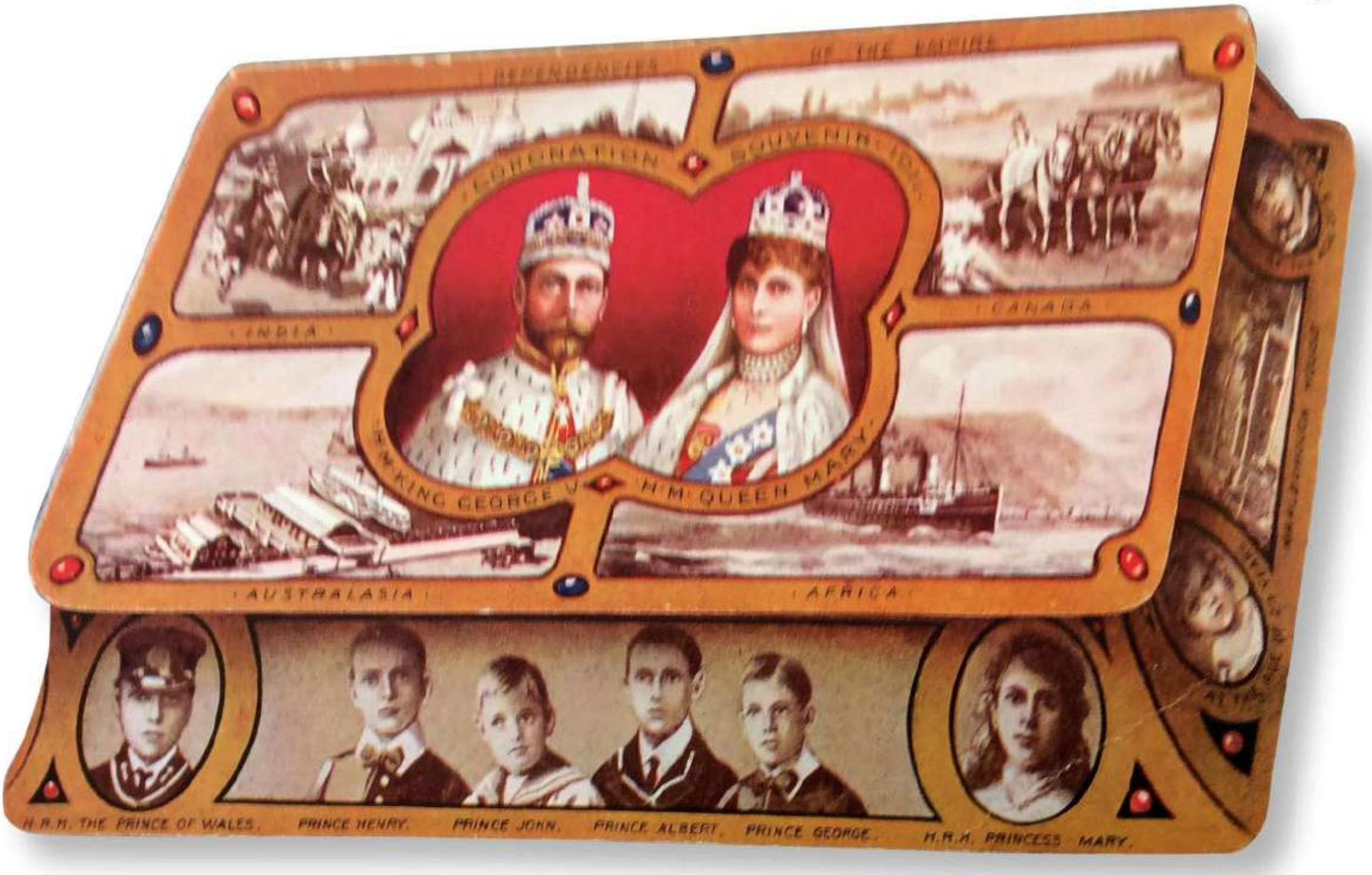
THE ART OF ADVERTISING

An engaging new exhibition explores the history of advertisements and our relationship with them

All images source: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

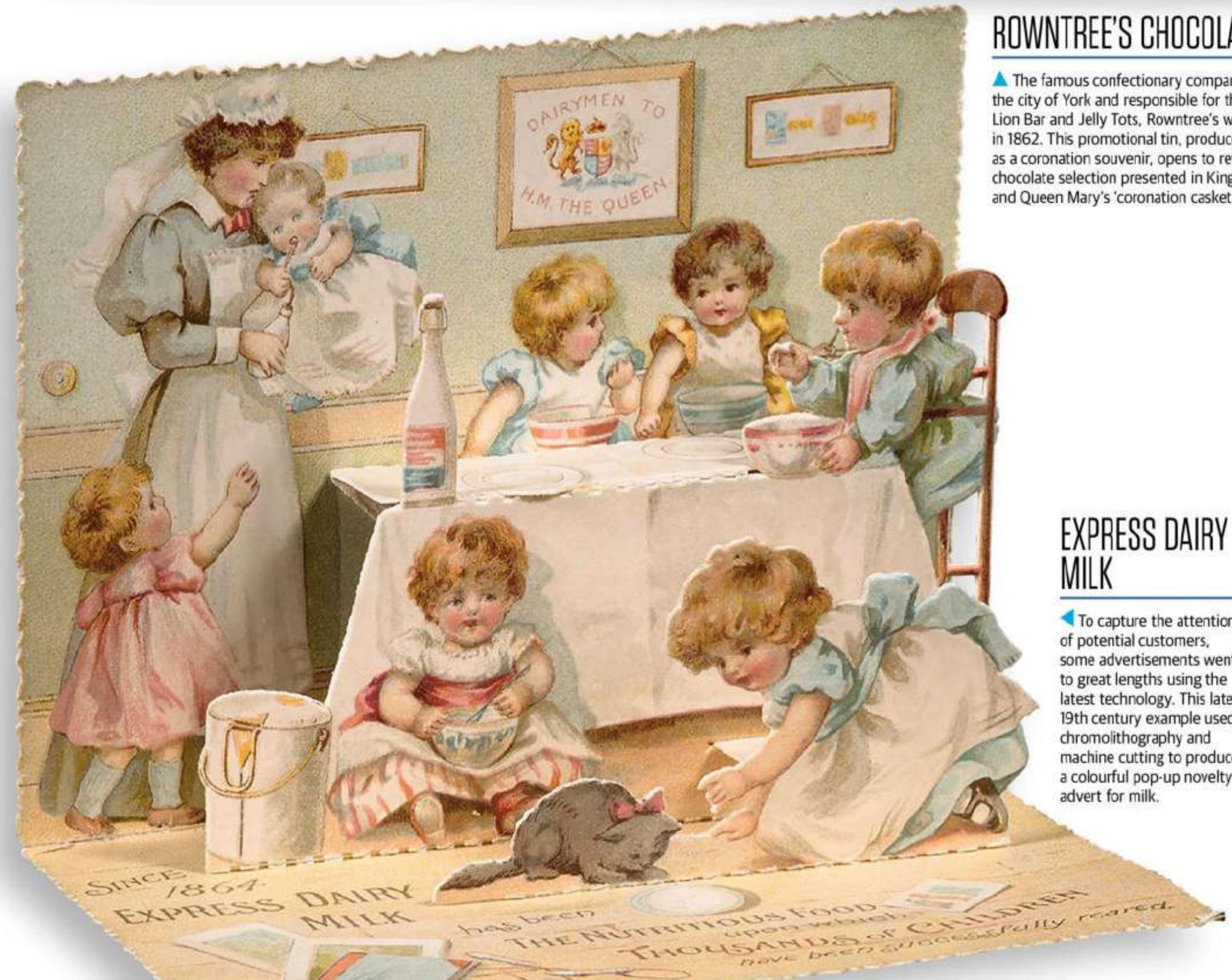
They're everywhere. They surround us, consume us and influence us - sometimes without us even noticing. Advertisements have long been a part of daily life, even more so today as companies employ the latest in social media and technology to promote their goods and services while also using old-fashioned posters and leaflets to sell their wares. And historians have shown that through studying advertising through the decades we can reveal much about our changing consumer culture and society.

A key figure in the mid-19th century, Thomas J Barratt, chairman of the soap manufacturer A&F Pears, is often referred to as 'the father of modern advertising'. His novel approach was to combine a memorable image with a popular slogan, and slogans such as "Good morning, have you used Pears' soap?" often became well-known catchphrases. During the 19th and early 20th century, it was common for firms to market directly to customers using colour illustrations. Over the years, these styles responded to developments in printing, moving from paintings and illustrations to photography. The Bodleian Libraries' *The Art Of Advertising* exhibition celebrates the changing nature of advertising between the mid-19th century and the 1930s, giving us a unique insight into our social and economic history.


DEPENDENCIES OF THE EMPIRE
CORONATION SOUVENIR 1911
INDIA
CANADA
AUSTRALASIA
AFRICA
H.M. KING GEORGE V
H.M. QUEEN MARY
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.
PRINCE HENRY.
PRINCE JOHN.
PRINCE ALBERT.
PRINCE GEORGE.
H.R.H. PRINCESS MARY.

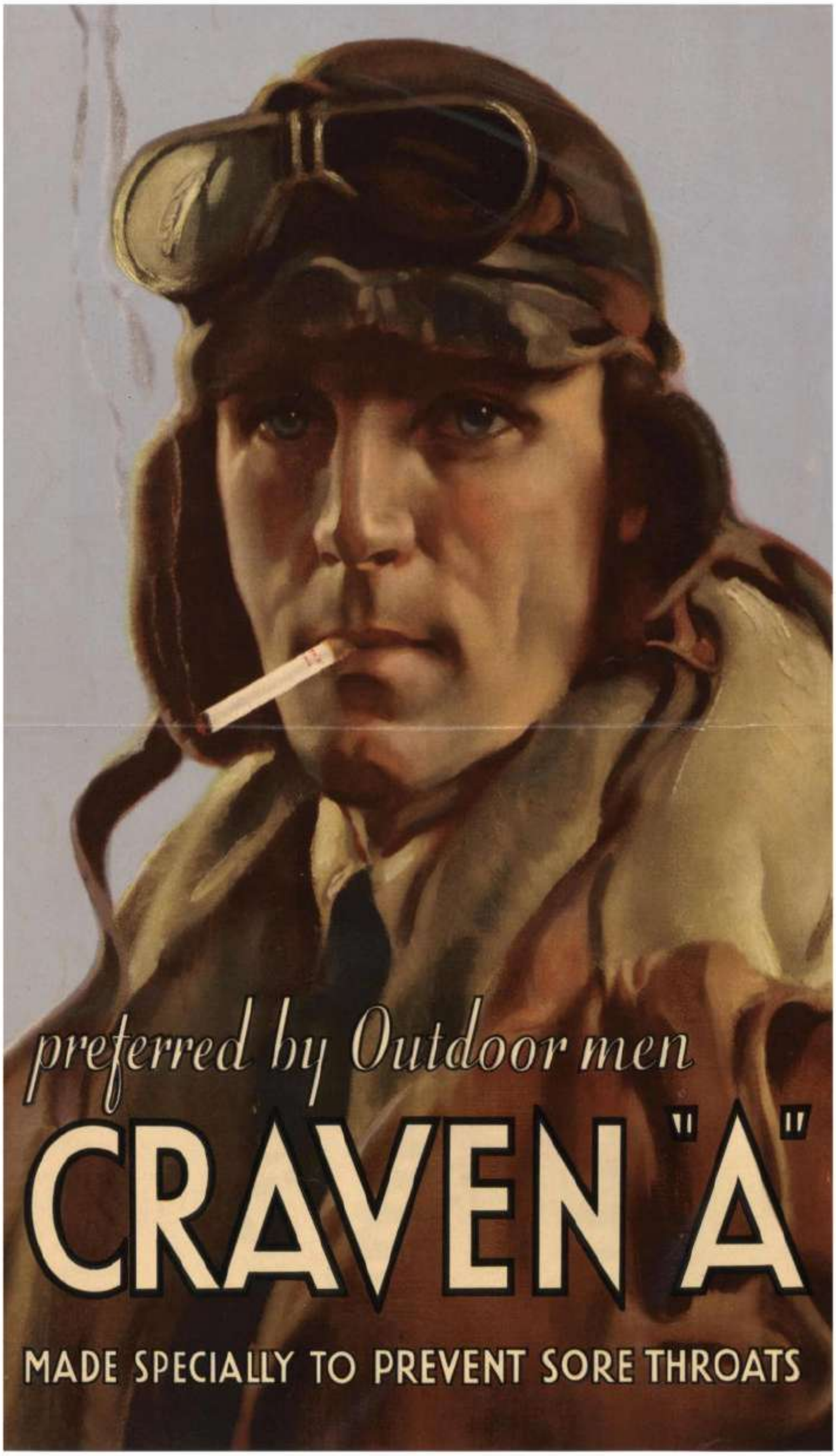
ROWNTREE'S CHOCOLATE TIN

▲ The famous confectionary company based in the city of York and responsible for the KitKat, Lion Bar and Jelly Tots, Rowntree's was founded in 1862. This promotional tin, produced in 1911 as a coronation souvenir, opens to reveal its chocolate selection presented in King George V and Queen Mary's 'coronation casket'.


DAIRYMEN TO H.M. THE QUEEN
SINCE 1864
EXPRESS DAIRY MILK
has been
THE NUTRITIOUS FOOD
upon which
THOUSANDS of CHILDREN
have been successfully reared.

EXPRESS DAIRY MILK

◀ To capture the attention of potential customers, some advertisements went to great lengths using the latest technology. This late-19th century example used chromolithography and machine cutting to produce a colourful pop-up novelty advert for milk.

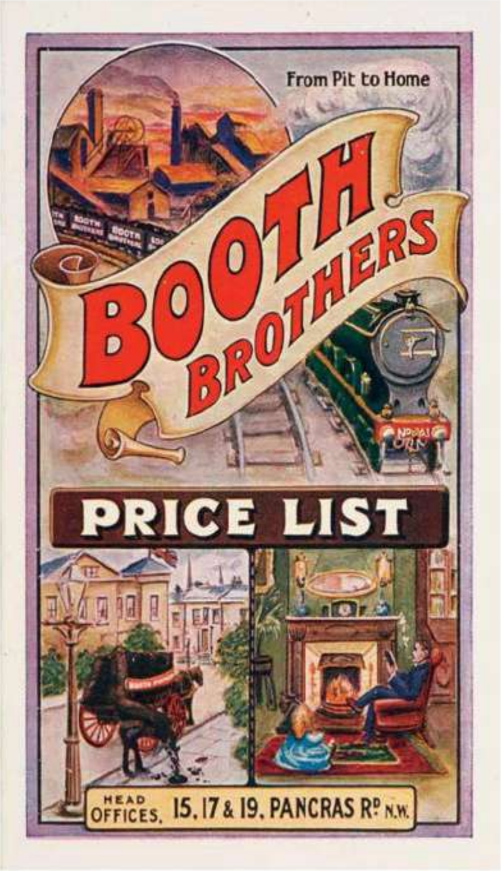

preferred by Outdoor men
CRAVEN "A"
MADE SPECIALLY TO PREVENT SORE THROATS

CRAVEN "A" CIGARETTES

▲ After World War I, numerous advertisements tapped into the idea of the soldier or aviator as a symbol of masculinity. This poster for Craven "A" cigarettes promoted the first machine-made cork-tipped cigarette, which the makers claimed would not affect the throat like previous designs.

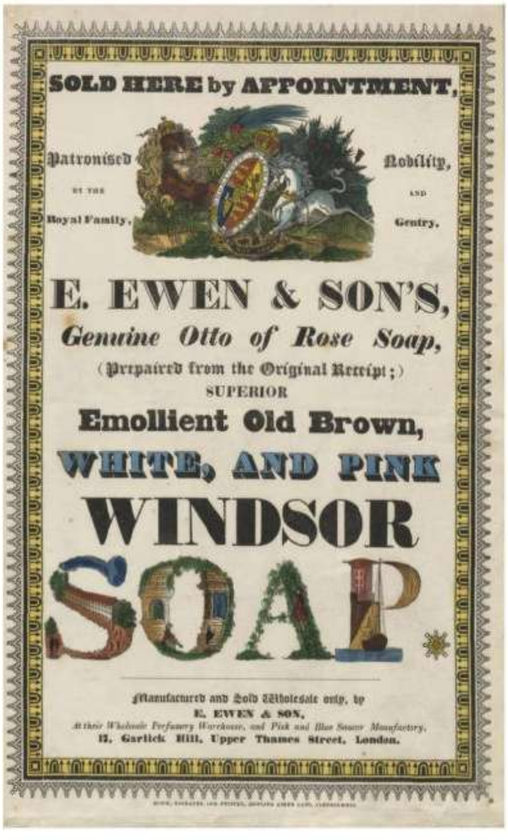
BOOTH BROTHERS PRICE LIST

▼ Throughout the history of advertising, companies have used print to persuade people of the importance of their product. This price list from Booth Brothers shows the many important uses of coal domestically, industrially and for transport.


From Pit to Home
BOOTH BROTHERS
PRICE LIST
HEAD OFFICES, 15, 17 & 19, PANCRAS Rᴰ N.W.

WINDSOR SOAP

▶ This 1820s Windsor Soap bill may be considered rather dull by contemporary standards, but at the time this was a one-off using the latest in cutting-edge colour printing techniques.

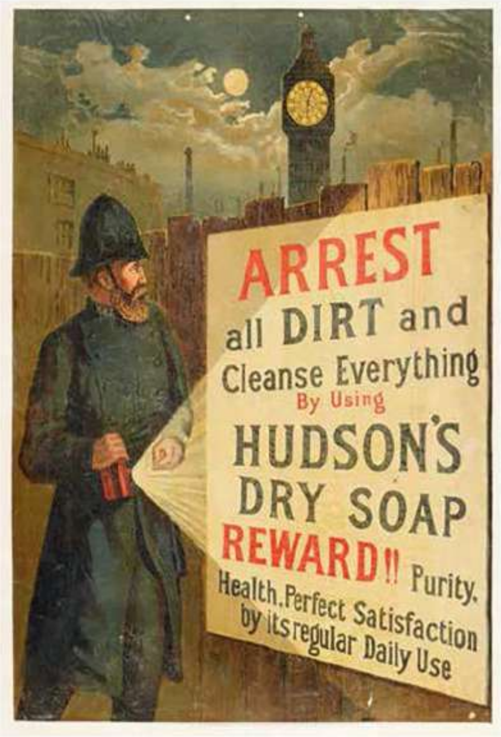


SOLD HERE by APPOINTMENT,

Patronised BY THE Royal Family, Nobility, AND Gentry.

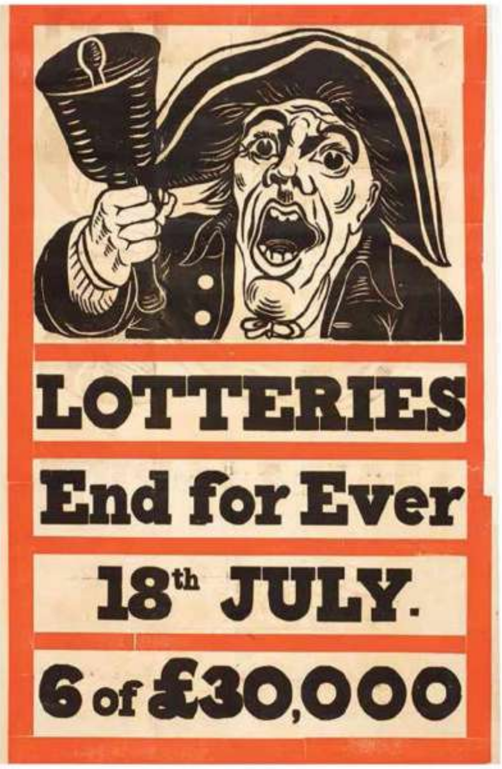
E. EWEN & SON'S,
Genuine Otto of Rose Soap,
(Prepaired from the Original Receipt;)
SUPERIOR
Emollient Old Brown,
WHITE, AND PINK
WINDSOR
SOAP.

Manufactured and Sold Wholesale only, by
E. EWEN & SON,
At their Wholesale Perfumery Warehouse, and Pink and Blue Smalt Manufactory,
12, Garlick Hill, Upper Thames Street, London.


ARREST
all DIRT and
Cleanse Everything
By Using
HUDSON'S
DRY SOAP
REWARD!! Purity.
Health, Perfect Satisfaction
by its regular Daily Use

HUDSON'S DRY SOAP

▲ The inventor of dry soap powder, Robert Spear Hudson, was revolutionary in his approach to advertising, paying for national publicity campaigns at a time when this was rare. This particular poster highlights another advertising trend – using the policeman to represent authority.


LOTTERIES
End for Ever
18th JULY.
6 of £30,000

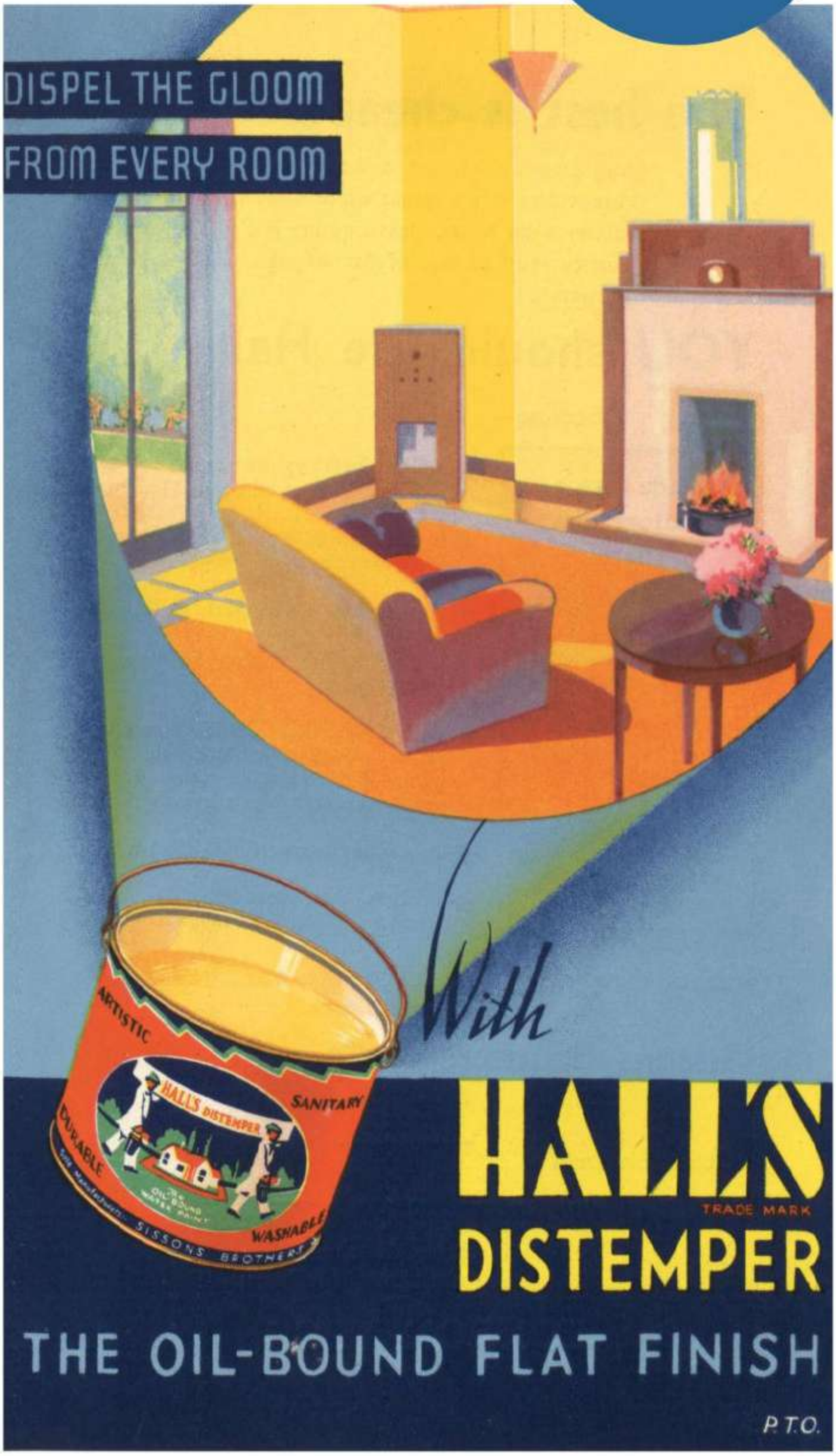
STATE LOTTERY

▲ Proof that art styles really do change drastically and that terrifying posters were commonplace in the 19th century, this 1826 poster advertises the last state lottery. Running from 1567, the aim was to raise money for public works, and the lotteries were used to raise funds to build Westminster Bridge and the British Museum. However, they were banned due to worries over the rise in gambling.

HALL'S DISTEMPER

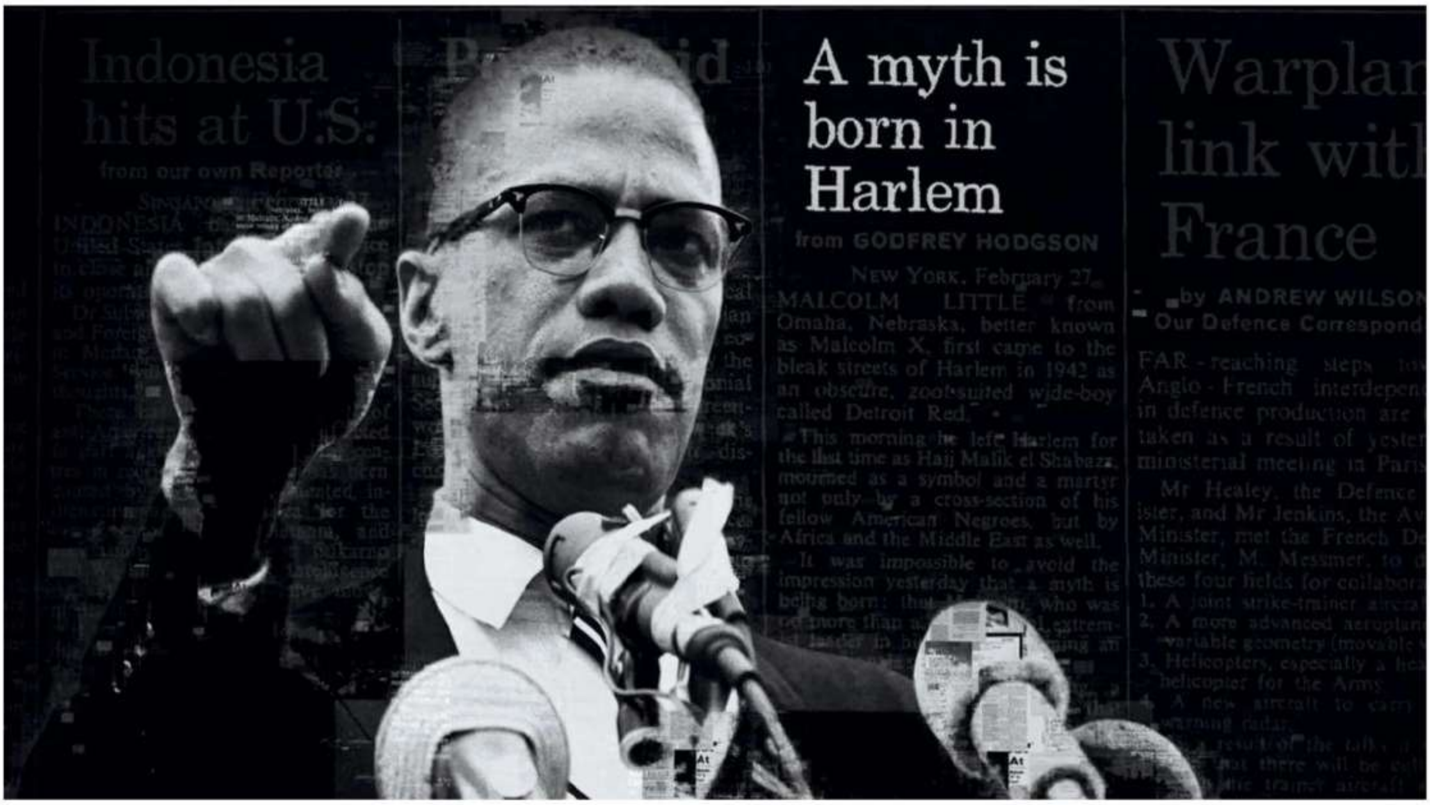
▼ This 1930s poster demonstrates the clean Art Deco styles, which dominated advertising during that decade. The full-colour paintings of the previous century were replaced with this more slimline but no less striking approach.

See more of The Art Of Advertising exhibition online at visit.bodleian.ox.ac.uk


DISPEL THE GLOOM
FROM EVERY ROOM
With
HALL'S
TRADE MARK
DISTEMPER
THE OIL-BOUND FLAT FINISH
ARTISTIC
SANITARY
DURABLE
WASHABLE
HALL'S DISTEMPER
SISSONS BROTHERS
P.T.O.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month



WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

An exhaustive examination of the mystery surrounding the assassination of civil rights leader Malcolm X

Creators Rachel Dretzin, Phil Bertelsen **Distributor** Netflix **Released:** Out now

On 21 February 1965, Malcolm X was addressing the Organisation of African-American Unity (OAAU) at the Audubon Ballroom in Manhattan. Suddenly, a disturbance broke out and three gunmen opened fire. Malcolm X was shot 21 times and died shortly after arriving in hospital. One of the assailants, Talmadge Hayer, was arrested at the scene. Later, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson were also arrested and all three sentenced to life for the murder. But what if, with the exception of Hayer, they got the wrong men?

Netflix's new documentary *Who Killed Malcolm X?* follows Abdur-Rahman Muhammad, a historian and tour guide who has devoted 30 years of his life to investigating Malcolm X's death. The six-episode series uses Muhammad as its through-line and the assassination as its focus, but covers a whole range of topics and leaves no stone unturned. We are given a comprehensive biography of Malcolm X, an in-depth discussion about the Nation of Islam and its leader Elijah Muhammad, and explore how the FBI and police spied on both of them. It's an exhaustive approach but one that provides viewers with a full understanding of the events and those involved, before presenting its conclusions.

The evidence shown is similarly extensive. A variety of witnesses and experts are interviewed, original documentation and documentary footage is shown, and despite its nearly six-hour running time, the series maintains a fast pace. This focus on the 'craft' of the researcher is a pleasing stylistic choice and sequences in archives are given just as much emphasis as those with individuals. The interviewees are honest in their sentiments and no one shies away from asking difficult questions. It's the hard-edge, investigative approach which Netflix has excelled at in recent years and which has led to some of its biggest and most popular shows.

However, whilst this comprehensive approach and fast pace certainly helps in some areas, for those unfamiliar with the life of Malcolm X it requires absolute concentration. At several points we found ourselves having to skim back as we'd missed an interviewee's name or their connection to the story at large. It's an understandable problem for a narrative with this scope, but it may be something for viewers new to the topic to bear in mind.

On the whole, *Who Killed Malcolm X?* can be proclaimed as an astounding achievement for all involved. The recent news that the documentary series has led to discussions that the murder case might be reopened is a testament to the excellent work on show here. Indeed, while the documentary itself tells a fascinating and important story, the way in which it tells it makes it equally worthy of your attention. ***CM***

★★★★☆

Reviews by
Callum McKelvie, Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon

SAS GREAT ESCAPES

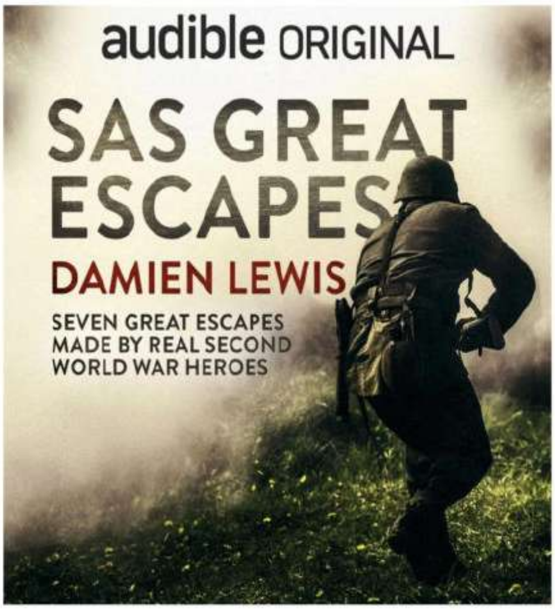
Seven gripping tales of daring WWII missions

Author Damien Lewis **Publishers** Audible Studios
Price: Free **Released** Out now

Stories of perseverance, determination and improvisation during World War II are commonplace, but you will find few as heart-pounding, tense and fraught as those told in this gripping audio book. Chronicling seven incredible escapes by SAS prisoners of war, the tales that Damien Lewis has compiled are not only extraordinary accounts of human endeavour and bravery, but also incredibly detailed and fleshed-out stories of the men behind the events.

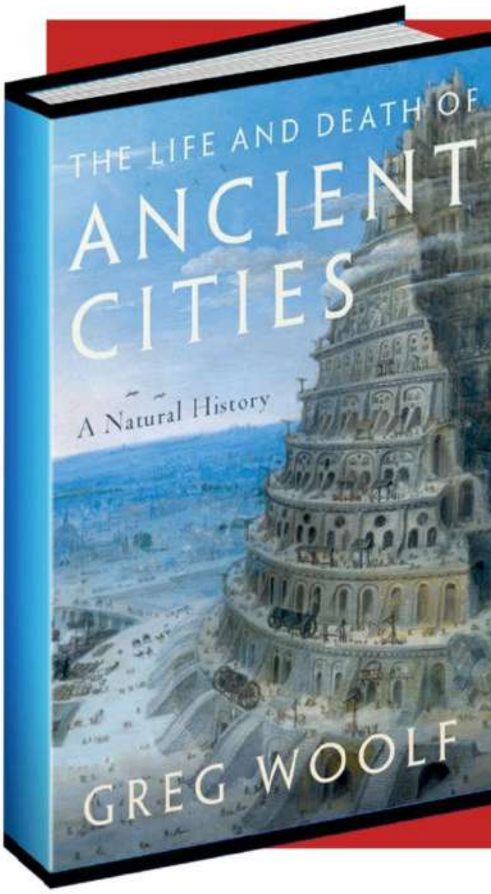
Lewis has written several books on the history of the SAS and British forces during World War II and all of his expertise and familiarity with the topic is on show in these stories. Each escape is treated as its own tale, quickly chronicling the life of its protagonist from birth to recruitment into the SAS to capture. Then it goes into much more granular and engrossing detail, breaking down how they each hatched their escape plans, what tools and subterfuge they used and then how, having escaped, they often still faced incredibly difficult and dangerous journeys to safety.

As with Lewis' previous work, *SAS Great Escapes* is written in a highly accessible way while also concentrating on the detail of the protagonists rather than attempting to set the wider scene of World War II. Similarly, the narration by Leighton Pugh is light and smooth. A veteran of narration, Pugh's authoritative voice and light use of accents gives the whole listening experience a reassuring authority.



The escapes detailed by this audible history are really quite amazing at times, exemplifying the mission and mindset of the SAS from the moment it was founded. ***JG***

★★★★☆



THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ANCIENT CITIES: A NATURAL HISTORY

An in-depth look at Ancient Mediterranean urbanism

Author Greg Woolf **Publisher** Oxford University Press
Price £25 **Released** Out now

When we think about cities of the ancient world, we tend to think of the great cities whose physical remains have survived to this day such as Athens, Persepolis, Alexandria or Rome. In his latest book, Professor Greg Woolf is here to tell us that there is an awful lot more to ancient cities than we know.

The Life And Death Of Ancient Cities takes a look at the rise and fall of cities from the end of the Bronze Age to the Early Middle Ages. As it turns out, ancient cities were a lot smaller than we believe. The larger they were, the harder they were to provide for - and they were often created by accident and for different reasons, although the purposes of cities could also change over time. They were fragile and unstable, and the environment of Mediterranean cities, such as the climate, could make them even more precarious places in which to live.

The book is an engaging and comprehensive read that ties in historical and archaeological evidence with the wider patterns of human evolution. Woolf provides an interesting discussion on how humans are suited to city life, and also offers some thought-provoking considerations on the current rate of globalisation that we're experiencing today.

There is an extensive bibliography and Woolf's recommendations for further reading at the end, which are a testament to his thorough research. This book should appeal to those who want to discover another perspective on the history of the Mediterranean or, indeed, the ancient world. ***JL***

★★★★☆

American Frontiers

The story of the United States expanding from one coast of the continent to the other is filled with adventure and hardship and this special looks to chronicle it all. Learn about the treatment of the Native American population, the lawless west that gained a foothold in the region and the colonial wars fought to conquer the land. It's a fascinating and often dark tale.

Out now!

Buy the *Book of the American Frontiers* in shops or online at **myfavouritemagazines.com**
Price: £12.99

HISTORY OF WAR RECOMMENDS...

Out now!

Across An Angry Sea

Author Sir Cedric Delves
Price £12.99 **Publisher** Hurst

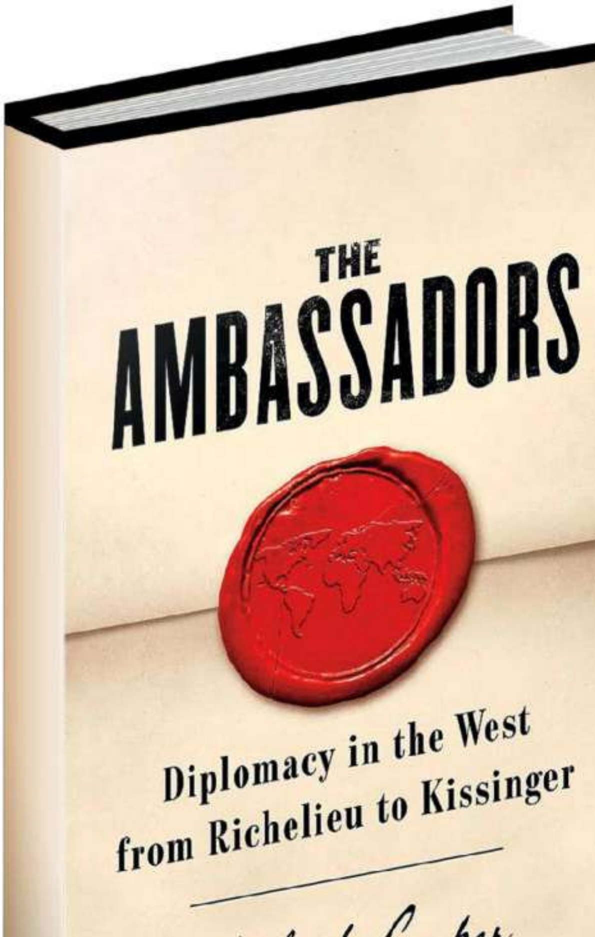
Delves had been in command of D Squadron 22 SAS since the start of 1982. There was nothing to suggest that within a few months his men would be waging war at the gateway to the Antarctic. Delves takes us though D Squadron's campaigns up to the Argentine capitulation on 14 June, starting with South Georgia, followed by the operations in Mount Kent, attacks on Pebble Island and then finally on to Port Stanley Harbour.

THE AMBASSADORS:

DIPLOMACY IN THE WEST FROM RICHELIEU TO KISSINGER

A worthwhile read encapsulating the highs and lows of diplomacy

Author Robert Cooper **Publisher** Weidenfeld & Nicolson **Price** £25 **Released** Out now



"The book's discussion on Brexit and British diplomacy today is extremely timely"

Diplomacy is by no means an easy feat. It requires a calm head while emotions and tension simmer under the surface, and at times peace negotiations can cause further conflict in the long run. As Robert Cooper states in his latest book: "Diplomacy is an art, not a science."

The Ambassadors analyses the great diplomats of history, their achievements and what this tells us about the most important issues of our time. Divided into ten well-balanced chapters, the book explores fascinating individuals such as Cardinal Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, George Kennan and Henry Kissinger, as well as events like the Cuban Missile Crisis, which brought the world to the brink of war and is one of the most famous diplomatic crises in history.

Although the book starts in the 17th century and carries on through to the modern day, Cooper thankfully provides enough context - including biographies of the diplomats - so that even those of us who may be unfamiliar with the history can understand what's going on. There are also moments where the reader is placed in the shoes of the diplomat, which occasionally makes a nice change of pace.

A large chunk of the book is dedicated to the building - or rebuilding - of the West in the early days of the Cold War, led by Ernest Bevin, George Marshall, Harry S Truman and Dean Acheson. It is intriguing to learn about the inner workings of diplomacy during this period and the successes and failures that the diplomats encountered along the way.

The chapter on the Holocaust is particularly moving, exploring Frank Foley, the British diplomat who issued visas to Jews to save them from the concentration camps. In the same chapter, Cooper also highlights other diplomats who disobeyed the instructions given to them by their governments and used their positions to save lives.

Interestingly, Cooper notes that other books about diplomacy usually focus on great powers, and to counter this he includes a chapter on Denmark and Finland. It is a reminder that smaller countries play a role in global diplomacy and gives us the opportunity to learn about lesser-known moments.

Towards the end, there is also a discussion about the process and campaigns of the EU referendum in Britain, Brexit and British diplomacy today. It is an extremely timely conversation and a nice way to round out a narrative which charts the development of diplomacy over the last few centuries.

As a former diplomat, Cooper has firsthand experience of diplomacy and it's clear from the outset that this is a topic he's passionate about, which always makes a book more enjoyable. It is an ideal book to pick up and down when you want, and in his foreword Cooper advises that there's no reason to read it in order. *The Ambassadors* is long and in-depth but is nonetheless engrossing and easy to follow thanks to its clear and concise writing. ***JL***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

DARKEST HOUR

C-

Director: Joe Wright **Starring:** Gary Oldman, Kristin Scott Thomas, Lily James **Country:** United Kingdom **Released:** 2017

This look at Churchill's first challenges as PM in 1940 plays fast and loose with the details, but gets the broader truths right

VERDICT: A film that goes for emotional truths over actual facts

01 As depicted in the film, Winston Churchill is appointed prime minister without there being much faith in his abilities. He's still blamed for WWI's Gallipoli failure and in many eyes he's just as culpable for the retreat from Norway as Neville Chamberlain.

02 The film shows Churchill being both quite abusive to his staff at times and quite compassionate to them in times of grief. We experience much of this through his secretary Elizabeth Layton, played by James, but Layton didn't join him for another year.

03 Clement Attlee and his Labour Party are sidelined in this film despite being Churchill's greatest allies in his position against making terms with the Nazis. Churchill is shown to struggle with this decision, but in reality he was much more resolute.

04 The scene in which Churchill calls President Roosevelt is a fiction, but likely based upon letters he sent asking for ships and aid at this time. The scrambled phone line wasn't in place until 1943 and the underground War Rooms weren't used until the Blitz.

05 The London Underground scene is also fictitious. He was known to go wandering from time to time, but he never sought public reassurance or opinions. In fact, public feeling towards Churchill at the time was far from as supportive as the film implies.

Main image: © Alamy
5x Inset image source: Universal Pictures

KIMCHI

©Getty Images

Did you know?

Kimjang, the process of communities collectively making and sharing kimchi in late autumn, is listed as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage

Ingredients

- 900g napa cabbage
- 250g daikon radish (or carrots, or both if you prefer)
- 4-6 whole cloves of garlic
- 1 small white onion (optional)
- 1 bunch spring onions
- 1 tbsp fresh ginger
- 3-4 tbsp sea salt
- 2-6 tbsp gochugaru (Korean red pepper flakes)
- 2 tbsp fish sauce (if you want to make your kimchi vegan, use miso paste, soy sauce or vegan fish sauce)
- An air-tight sealed plastic container or glass mason jar

A TREASURED NATIONAL DISH, KOREA, C.1ST CENTURY BCE – PRESENT

It is believed that kimchi originated during the Three Kingdoms period (57 BCE - 668) when picking vegetables helped to preserve food for longer. The earliest kimchis consisted of radishes fermented in brine, although this changed as new vegetables such as cucumbers were brought to Korea during the Goryeo period (918-1392). Gochugaru, a staple ingredient of modern spicy kimchi, was not introduced to Korea until the 17th century and traditional tongbaechu kimchi, made with napa cabbage, was not invented until the 19th century. Full of healthy bacteria, probiotics, vitamins and minerals, kimchi is a mainstay of Korean culinary culture and heritage. There are hundreds of different types of kimchi with regional and seasonal variations, but the following recipe is for simple cabbage kimchi, which is the perfect place to start for beginners.

METHOD

01 Start by preparing your vegetables. Remove the core from the napa cabbages and chop into roughly 2.5cm pieces. Finely chop the white onion, peel the ginger and garlic, cut your radish or carrot into thin matchstick pieces and diagonally slice the spring onions.

02 Soak the pieces of cabbage in cold water before placing the soaked cabbage in a large bowl. Sprinkle the salt over the cabbage and leave it to brine for two hours, turning the cabbage every 30 minutes to make sure that it's evenly coated in the salt.

03 In the meantime, blend the garlic, onion, ginger, fish sauce (or your alternative) and gochugaru (the more you use, the spicier the kimchi will be) in a food processor until it becomes a thick paste. After the two hours are up, rinse the cabbage thoroughly in cold water and drain.

04 Place the cabbage, radish or carrot and spring onions into a large bowl. Add the kimchi paste to the bowl and, using your hands, massage the paste into the vegetables until they're well covered. Make sure you wear gloves because the paste can burn your skin!

05 Next, pack the kimchi into your plastic container or glass jar, making sure to press the mixture down firmly so that it's submerged under the kimchi liquid. Make sure to leave 2-3cm gap between the top of the kimchi and the top of the jar, and then put the lid on.

06 Place the jar on a plate to catch any of the kimchi juice that may escape as it ferments. Leave the kimchi on the side to ferment at room temperature for two to three days. If you notice the vegetables rising above the liquid, make sure to press them back down.

07 After two to three days, you should notice that bubbles have formed at the top of the kimchi, which proves that it has been fermenting. It should smell and taste sour – if you're happy with the taste, place the kimchi in the fridge so it continues to ferment slowly.

08 If you'd like your kimchi to be more sour then leave at room temperature for up to a week, tasting each day until you're happy with it, then place it in the fridge. The kimchi will last in the fridge for at least six months, but be sure to press it down after each use to keep it submerged.

NEXT MONTH SHAKA: RISE OF THE ZULU KING ON SALE 13 AUG

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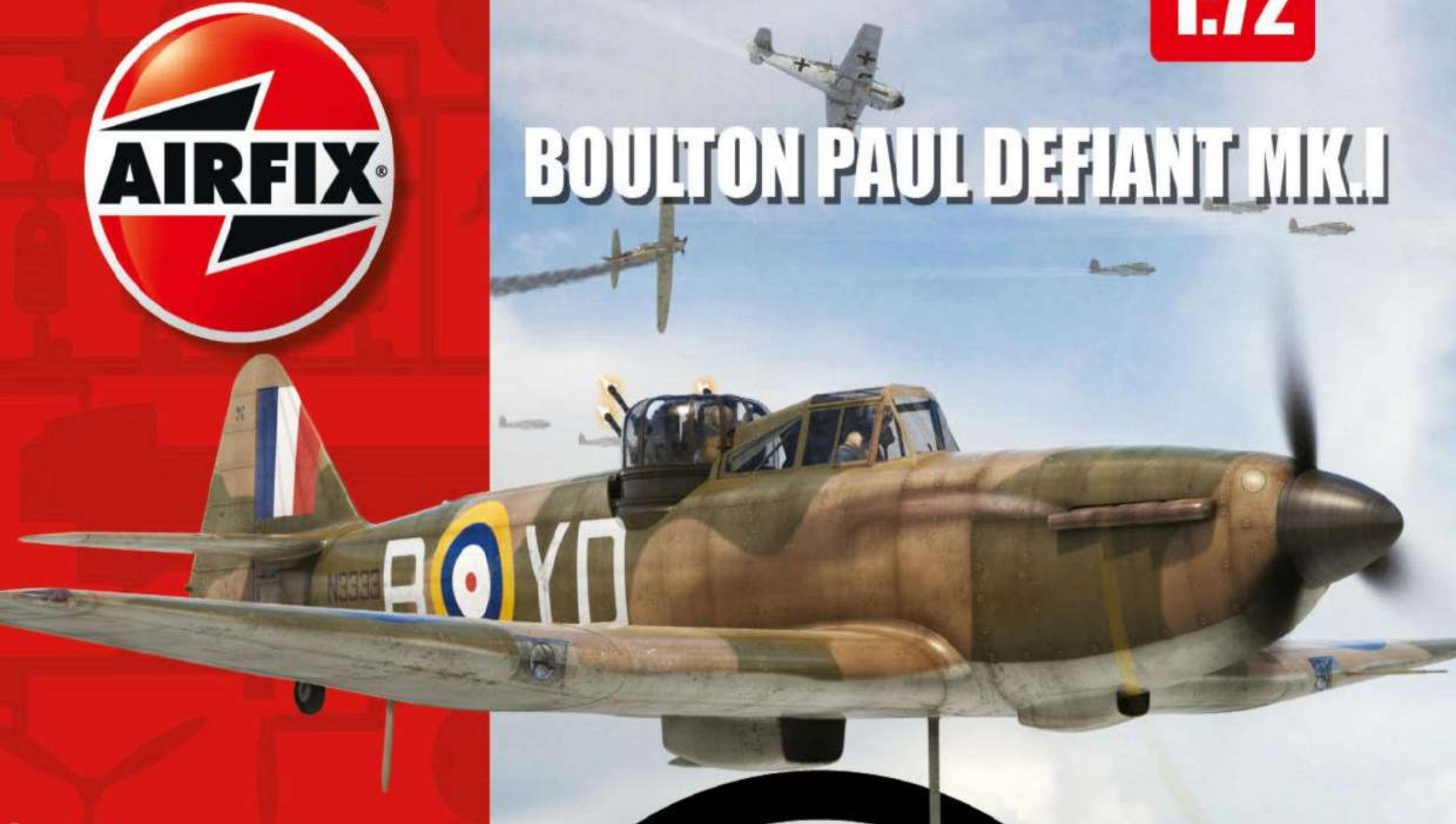
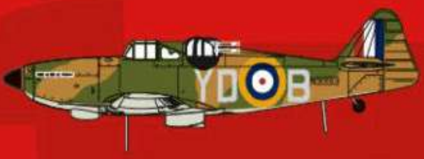
BOULTON PAUL DEFIANT MK.I



A55213
BOULTON PAUL DEFIANT Mk.I

The Boulton-Paul Defiant was the only 'turret fighter' to enter service with the RAF. The Defiant used the philosophy that a fighter aircraft, armed solely with a turret bristling with machine guns would be able to enter a bomber stream causing havoc and the turret would also enable it to defend itself from enemy fighters. During its first few engagements during the Battle of Britain in 1940, enemy pilots were taken by surprise and the Defiant fared well but soon the Luftwaffe pilots worked out its weaknesses, especially the lack of forward firing guns and the Defiant was soon relegated to night fighting duties were it fared better.



BOULTON PAUL DEFIANT Mk.I
No. 255 Squadron, No. 12 Group, RAF Kirton Lindsey,
Lincolnshire, England, 1940.

Length 150mm Width 166mm Total pieces 70

AIRFIX
starter SET
AIRFIX
1:72 BOULTON PAUL DEFIANT Mk.I

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